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OVERSIGHT OF THE U.S. INSTITUTE OF PEACE

JOINT HEARING

BEFORE THE

COMMITTEE ON LABOR AND HUMAN RESOURCES

AND THE

COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS UNITED STATES SENATE

ONE HUNDREDTH CONGRESS

FIRST SESSION

ON

REVIEWING THE ACTIVITIES OF THE U.S. INSTITUTE OF PEACE

NOVEMBER 10, 1987

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CONTENTS

STATEMENTS

TUESDAY, NOVEMBER 10, 1987

	Page
Allen, Kerry Kenn, president, VOLUNTEER—The National Center, prepared statement	161
Alpern, Robert Z., director, Washington office, Unitarian Universalist Association, prepared statement	164
Conlan, Robert J., prepared statement (with enclosures)	123
Geiger, Keith, vice president, National Education Association, Washington, DC; and J. David Eberly, program coordinator, World Peace Academy, Church of the Brethren, Washington, DC	95
Prepared statement	97
Goodstein, Leonard D., Ph.D., executive vice president and chief executive officer, American Psychological Association, prepared statement	156
Kimmel, Dr. Paul R., prepared statement	140
Lintner, Jay, director, Washington office, United Church of Christ, Office for Church in Society, prepared statement	137
Montville, Joseph V., Research Director, Center for the Study of Foreign Affairs, Foreign Service Institute, U.S. Department of State, Washington, DC; John A. Baker, director of education, Atlantic Council of the United States, Washington, DC; and Gene Sharp, president, Albert Einstein, Cambridge, MA	64
Prepared statements of:	
Mr. Montville	68
Mr. Sharp	78
Moore, Hon. John Norton, chairman, board of directors, U.S. Institute of Peace, Washington, DC; and Ambassador Samuel W. Lewis, president, U.S. Institute of Peace, Washington, DC, accompanied by Robert Turner, former president, U.S. Institute of Peace, Washington, DC	4
Prepared statement of Mr. Moore	10
Hough, Bill, director, Institute for Peace Development, prepared statement	112
Kriesberg, Louis, prepared statement	119
Pease, Hugh M., prepared statement	144
Rubin, Dr. Jeffrey Z., president, Society for the Psychological Study of Social Issues, prepared statement	138
Simons, Albert J., president of the University of Hawaii, prepared statement	121
Wilson, Leland, director, Washington office, Church of the Brethren, prepared statement	107

ADDITIONAL MATERIAL

Questions and answers:	
Responses of Mr. Moore to questions submitted by Senators Matsunaga, Stafford, and Pell	25

OVERSIGHT OF THE U.S. INSTITUTE OF PEACE

TUESDAY, NOVEMBER 10, 1987

U.S. SENATE,
SENATE COMMITTEE ON LABOR AND HUMAN RESOURCES,
AND SENATE COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS,
Washington, DC.

The Committees met, pursuant to notice, at 2:15 p.m., in Room SD-430, Dirksen Senate Office Building, Senator Spark M. Matsunaga, presiding.

Present: Senators Matsunaga, Stafford, and Pell.

OPENING STATEMENT OF SENATOR MATSUNAGA

Senator MATSUNAGA. The joint oversight hearing of the Committee on Labor and Human Resources and the Committee on Foreign Relations will come to order.

Section 1712 of the U.S. Institute of Peace Act of 1984 provides that within two years after the establishment of the Institute of Peace and every two years thereafter the Institute shall submit to Congress and the President of the United States a report detailing the progress that the Institute has made. The Act further provides that upon receipt of such report the Committee on Labor and Human Resources and the Committee on Foreign Relations of the United States Senate shall hold hearings to review the findings and recommendations of such report.

The Institute of Peace, which formally came into being in February 1986 when its Board of Directors was sworn into office, published its first biennial report in August of this year. I greatly appreciate the assistance and cooperation of the Labor and Human Resources Committee, chaired by Senator Edward F. Kennedy, and the Foreign Relations Committee, chaired by Senator Claiborne Pell, in arranging these timely hearings on the Institute's report.

The concept of a national institution dedicated to peace education, training and research dates back to the American Revolutionary War. In fact, President George Washington himself proposed such an institution to no avail. In the 20th century the idea was espoused by distinguished Americans from all walks of life, including many distinguished United States Senators such as Jennings Randolph, Hubert Humphrey and Everett Dirksen, but no one pursued it to fruition.

When I was first sworn into office as a United States Congressman in January of 1963 one of the first bills I introduced was a bill to establish a United States Academy of Peace. I reintroduced the measure in six succeeding Congresses as a Member of the House. I was unable even to secure Committee hearings on my bills.

When I was elected to the Senate in 1976, I reintroduced the measure in the Senate in 1977 with the cosponsorship of Senators Mark Hatfield and Jennings Randolph. Because it appeared that I would encounter the same difficulties experienced in the House, with the cosponsorship of Senators Randolph and Hatfield, I introduced a bill to establish a nine-member commission to study the various proposals for a National Academy of Peace and Conflict Resolution.

The study was authorized by Congress in 1978 and funded in 1979 and members of the commission were appointed—six by the Congress and three by the President of the United States. The study was conducted in 1980–81, and as Chairman of the Commission, I personally presented its report, entitled *To Establish the United States Academy of Peace* to the President in 1981. A copy of the report was also delivered to every member of Congress.

In 1984, to implement the recommendations of the Commission, I introduced a bill, S. 564, providing for the establishment of the United States Institute of Peace to conduct peace education, training and research, as recommended by the Commission. Because of a threatened veto, the bill was offered as an amendment to the Defense Authorization Bill and approved by Congress. President Reagan signed the Defense Authorization Bill and in doing so established the United States Institute of Peace.

President Reagan nominated and the Senate confirmed the Institute's first Board of Directors in the latter part of 1985.

I think that the Institute has made a great deal of progress during its first two years of operation, especially in the last six months or so. The Jennings Randolph Program for International Peace has been launched and, as mandated by Congress, the Institute has awarded over $1 million in grants for education, research and training to other institutions and individuals. A high school essay contest and a public television series are in the works, according to the Board's chairman.

Our first panel of witnesses will report in detail on the Institute's achievements and its plans for the upcoming year. I am happy to welcome the distinguished Chairman of the Institute's Board of Directors, the Honorable John Norton Moore, and the Institute's President, former Ambassador Samuel Lewis. They are accompanied by Mr. Robert Turner, who served as the Institute's first President and left at the beginning of this month to return to his faculty position at the University of Virginia Law School.

But before I call on the witnesses to testify, I will ask if Senator Stafford or Senator Pell has an opening statement—Senator Stafford?

OPENING STATEMENT OF SENATOR STAFFORD

Senator STAFFORD. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I do have a brief opening statement.

I am glad to be here this afternoon as the Committee on Foreign Relations and the Committee on Labor and Human Resources convene to discuss the United States Institute of Peace. I would like to particularly thank Senator Spark Matsunaga for all his effort and support and leadership role in establishing the Institute as he has

recounted in the detailed history of the Institute and the efforts to create it that he just presented to us.

The United States, in the judgment of this Senator, needs an institution to coordinate peace research activities, conflict resolution training and information services to ensure that we are adequately prepared and trained to pursue to the fullest possible extent peaceful solutions to conflict.

I look forward to hearing from today's witnesses about the accomplishments of the Institute since its establishment by the Congress in October of 1984. This Senator hopes that support for the goals and objectives of the United States Institute of Peace—those which were the original Congressional intent for the institution—will continue and that we may openly consider any changes that will enhance its operation.

I would like to congratulate former Ambassador Lewis on his new position as President and encourage him to seek participation in the workings of the Institute from a broad cross section of the nation. I look forward, Mr. Chairman, to hearing the testimony today.

Senator MATSUNAGA. Thank you very much, Senator Stafford. I must thank you for the staunch support that you have given the Institute from the very beginning when the bill was first introduced. As a matter of fact, I am certain that you were a cosponsor of the final bill which was passed.

And now may I call upon the Chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee, who should be sitting where I am now, Senator Pell.

OPENING STATEMENT OF SENATOR PELL

Senator PELL. Mr. Chairman, I am very glad—as a member of both the Subcommittee on Education, Arts and Humanities and the Committee on Foreign Relations—that we are holding this oversight hearing. As one who cosponsored the legislation to create the United States Institute of Peace, I have long supported its work. I would particularly like to recognize the leadership that Senator Spark Matsunaga has taken to see that his longtime dream of such an institute became a reality.

The primary purpose of the Institute is to enhance current research and training in the fields of conflict resolution, diplomacy, international affairs and peace studies. Given the nuclear arms race between the United States and the Soviet Union, the growing number of terrorist incidents, and the turmoil in the Middle East and Central America, it is imperative that we make every effort to increase our understanding about the causes of war and sources of conflict in order that peace might be achieved.

We have heard a lot lately about the responsibility of Congress when it comes to making war. My recollection is that the phrase in the Constitution is that Congress has the responsibility to make war. But implicit in the Constitution is the responsibility to make peace. This responsibility is very much in line with the purpose of the Institute of Peace is.

We must be careful that the Institute not become a lightning rod to deflect demarche by peace-minded American citizens but be an activist force in that direction. It must not divert attention from

other resources of the Government but act as a catalytic agent in making peace, just as other agencies of the Government are very interested in making war.

Finally, I would particularly like to welcome Mr. Moore, whom I have worked with on the law of the sea over the years and whom I respect very much, and Sam Lewis, whom I have admired for his work in Israel. I am only sorry that I cannot stay here this afternoon—I have other commitments—but I think it should be an interesting hearing. I am particularly sorry to miss Joe Montville's presentation because he worked with me on some of these issues in the past.

Thank you for letting me make this statement.

Senator MATSUNAGA. Thank you very much, Senator Pell. The record clearly shows that you have been a staunch supporter of the establishment of the Institute and I thank you very much again for attending the hearing.

We will be happy now to hear from you as the first witness, Mr. Moore.

STATEMENTS OF HON. JOHN NORTON MOORE, CHAIRMAN, BOARD OF DIRECTORS, U.S. INSTITUTE OF PEACE, WASHINGTON, DC; AND AMBASSADOR SAMUEL W. LEWIS, PRESIDENT, U.S. INSTITUTE OF PEACE, WASHINGTON, DC; ACCOMPANIED BY ROBERT TURNER, FORMER PRESIDENT, U.S. INSTITUTE OF PEACE, WASHINGTON, DC

Mr. MOORE. Chairman Matsunaga, Senator Stafford and Chairman Pell, it is a particular pleasure for me to be here today at this oversight hearing for the United States Institute of Peace. One reason that it is a particular pleasure is that it is always gratifying to be the bearer of good news, and Mr. Chairman, we have good news that a new Federal entity—the United States Institute of Peace—is off to a strong start, both in establishing a sound administrative structure and in developing and implementing its substantive program.

In addition, Mr. Chairman, it is a very special honor to be here today because this is the first oversight hearing for this new Federal entity, the United States Institute of Peace. It is truly an historic occasion and to be able to share that occasion with three of the principal founders: the Chairman of this hearing, who was the Chairman of the Commission that basically gave birth to the United States Institute of Peace; Senator Stafford, who has been a strong supporter and I believe, Mr. Chairman, was the fifth signer of your bill to create the United States Institute of Peace; and Senator Pell, who has been such a staunch advocate and friend of this Institute in every way from the beginning. So that makes this just a particularly important and special historic occasion and an honor for me to be here and participating in it.

Mr. Chairman, I would like this morning to place my prepared remarks in full in the record and simply to summarize a number of the highlights from that to maximize an opportunity for discussion. And in doing so I would like to simply make brief comments in three parts.

First, to talk briefly about what for me is perhaps the most important of all in establishing this new Federal entity, and that is a series of abiding principles that I believe deeply should guide the work of this Institute in everything that it does.

Second, to briefly summarize the highlights of the activities to date of the United States Institute of Peace, and I am going to primarily rely on the detailed report that we presented to you to go into detail in that area.

Then finally, Mr. Chairman, to just share a few thoughts on some of the areas that we believe should receive special attention at this point in the life of the Institute. And then after that I would like to have the opportunity to introduce Ambassador Samuel W. Lewis, our new President, and Robert F. Turner, just to make some comments that they may believe appropriate at this occasion as well, with your permission.

Senator MATSUNAGA. Your full written statement will appear in the record as though presented in full.

Mr. MOORE. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Turning first to the question of abiding principles that it seems to me must undergird the work now and in the future of the United States Institute of Peace, let me, Mr. Chairman, just briefly touch on eight of these that we have sought to live by in the first formative years of this Institute.

They are, first, that everything that we do should be done with the highest standards of integrity. Above all, we have been guided by a desire to conduct all of our affairs with those highest standards. Nothing has been of greater importance to us and I believe that that commitment has been reflected in our work.

Second, respect for intellectual excellence. In all of our programs, we have sought to be guided by a simple test. We want to support work of the highest caliber intellectually by scholars, diplomats, leaders in peace, and other individuals and organizations. This emphasis on the very highest standards of intellectual and professional excellence in everything that the Institute does, must remain a hallmark of the work of the Institute now and in the future.

Mr. Chairman, I personally believe that this focus on excellence in everything that we do is, perhaps more than anything else, the touchstone of a vital and successful United States Institute of Peace in years to come.

Third, a broad-gauged interdisciplinary approach. We do not support efforts to narrow the subject matter so that groups or individuals who might make a meaningful contribution would be excluded from our activities. We have already invited historians, political scientists, legal scholars, economists, sociologists, anthropologists, linguists, psychologists, geographers, theologians, ethicists, literary critics, biologists and physicists, along with specialists in conflict resolution, arms control, diplomacy, management, medical science, pedagogy, international organizations and communications to participate in our work.

Even with this effort we still are not satisfied with the scope of our outreach efforts. We want every nonpartisan group in the country which has relevant strengths to bring to this effort to join us in trying to understand the causes of war and to improve the chances for international peace. Not only do we not have an ideo-

logical or political test in deciding how to allocate institution resources, but we have intentionally sought to work with a broad range of viewpoints, recognizing the strength of intellectual diversity and insisting only upon the highest degree of professional competence and intellectual relevance with respect to the Institute's overall mandate.

Then, evenhandedness and nonpartisanship in administration and programming. By law the Institute is prohibited from applying any type of political test in its work, and we have given this provision a broad interpretation and applied it to every aspect of our work. The broad range of political views represented on our staff and by our grant and fellowship recipients stands as evidence of our efforts to be evenhanded and nonpartisan.

Then, non-interventionism. Another fundamental principle in our work has been that the Institute will not intervene in specific international disputes. This principle does not preclude persons from nations where there are conflicts from participating in the work of the Institute. But the conduct of American foreign policy is, of course, vested in the President and the Secretary of State.

Then, service as trustees of the public purse. We have made every possible effort to carry out our mandate in a cost-efficient manner. To provide just two examples: By careful negotiating we were able to purchase our word processing equipment at between 11 and 22 percent below the Government price negotiated by the General Services Administration; and when we move into our new offices next month we will be paying an effective rental rate that is 16 percent below the average rate paid by GSA for similar space in the Washington area in recent years.

Then, independence. Another primary emphasis has been independence. The legislative history of our enabling statute, and indeed the statutory text itself, makes clear that the United States Institute of Peace was not designed to become part of the Executive Branch. We believe that one of the great accomplishments of our early months in existence was the establishment of this independence.

Finally, Mr. Chairman, tradition. While the Institute as a whole is unique, both the American commitment to international peace as so eloquently set out in your introductory statement, and the tools we have been given to carry out our responsibilities—research, education and training, and information services—are analogous to those found in other federally supported programs.

We have tried to take advantage of the years of experience of other organizations, such as the Smithsonian Institution's Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars, in designing and establishing our own program.

Now second, Mr. Chairman, let me turn very briefly—relying primarily on our detailed report—just to touch on a few of the highlights of this formative first two-year period.

First, it is with particular pleasure that we have with us today Ambassador Sam Lewis, the second President of the United States Institute of Peace and the President that has been selected after a very major national search for the very finest person, the most experienced, highest caliber person that could possibly be found. And I am pleased to say that in my judgment we have in every respect

indeed over-fulfilled our expectations on that with respect to Ambassador Sam Lewis, who has served, among other things, as an Assistant Secretary of State for International Organization Affairs, and eight years as United States Ambassador to Israel under presidents of both parties, during which time he was a key player in the Camp David peace negotiations. And since retiring from the Foreign Service in 1985, he has served as the certainly related Chairman of the Board of the Harry S. Truman Research Institute for the Advancement of Peace at Hebrew University in Jerusalem.

Now, in addition I am particularly pleased to be able to strongly endorse the nomination by the President of Professor Elspeth Rostow, the Stiles Professor of American Studies and former Dean of the Lyndon B. Johnson School of Public Affairs at the University of Texas at Austin, to fill the vacant seat on the Board of Directors. We hope the Senate will act expeditiously in giving its consent to this superb nomination so that she will be able to join us quickly. And I particularly, as Chairman of the Board, strongly welcome that nomination.

Now, with respect to the programs of the United States Institute of Peace, Mr. Chairman, I believe they are off and running in good style. Our initial grants program has now gotten to approximately the one and a half million dollar mark and we have made 50 grants that have been publicly announced at this point and the process is, of course, still continuing.

We have gotten the Jennings Randolph Program for International Peace off to a particularly distinguished start. I will not go through the extraordinary qualifications of the first eight persons selected, but I believe that they will be of great assistance and set a tone as we continue to set the very highest standards in this very important Jennings Randolph Program.

I might add that at our last Board meeting we completed the more permanent procedures for the regularization of the Jennings Randolph Program and we fully expect it to be in regular operation for the next series of nominations this coming year.

In addition, Mr. Chairman, we have begun a series of programs run in-house from the United States Institute of Peace by its staff. One of those is the National Peace Essay Contest for high school students and that contest was begun last month, after many months of preparation, with a mailing to 24,000 high school principals across the United States, its territories and possessions and at U.S. Armed Forces High Schools abroad.

The subject matter of the essay contest this year will deal with a very important relationship between human rights and international peace and we believe that this will reach a very large number of young people in the American educational system and alert them to the work of the United States Institute of Peace.

I am also pleased to report that we have done substantial preliminary work on a public television educational program that we hope will be ready for broadcasting early next month on the eve of the U.S.-Soviet summit talks here in Washington, which is an extremely scholarly presentation by many of the experienced participants on behalf of the United States in past summits, and scholars in the United States on summitry, and summits particularly between the United States and the Soviet Union. That television pro-

gram and underlying conference was moderated by the Librarian of Congress, James H. Billington, in coordination with the Woodrow Wilson Center, and by Dr. Allen Weinstein, a member of the Institute's Board, and we hope that this will be both a significant public service to the country educationally at the time of the summit, as well as serving as perhaps the first opportunity for a broad American audience to see the symbol and hear the language, "United States Institute of Peace is pleased to sponsor the following program."

Mr. Chairman, under the guidance of Board member Dr. W. Scott Thompson we also have well underway an intellectual map of the field of international conflict management, which is one of the first in-house research projects that we have focused on. This is an effort to look at every one of the most significant intellectual areas of contribution to international peace and to hold a series of hearings on each and ultimately to produce a major national conference with each of these disciplines and approaches having a more structured opportunity to interact with others and then for the Board to produce an overall review in book form, in report form, that can be released to the public.

Now, Mr. Chairman, let me turn to the third and final part of my brief overview comments this morning, and that is just a few comments on some areas that I believe we must emphasize for the future. One of those is certainly the area of public outreach and information services. We made a conscious decision when the Institute was first established to take a low-key approach during the start up period. We thought it important before going to the American people to establish a strong administrative infrastructure and to get some of our programs successfully underway so that those programs could speak for themselves.

That start-up mission has been accomplished and we are now determined to bring our success story to the people of this country and to the world and to expand our contacts to include more organizations and individuals in the work of the Institute. Some of this outreach has already begun. At our request the Department of State sent a message last month to every United States Mission around the world informing U.S. diplomats about the work of the Institute and inviting them to bring our existence to the attention of foreign governments and appropriate non-governmental groups and individuals.

Several of the ongoing programs that I have just mentioned will also be very important in this outreach—the high school essay contest that will reach a very large number of American high school students; and, of course, the first television program that we have produced on summitry.

I am particularly also pleased to announce as part of this effort at public outreach and information services that we have recently secured the services of Mr. John Richardson, a former Assistant Secretary of State for Cultural Affairs, and President of the respected international student exchange program, Youth for Understanding, to serve as the Institute's Counselor and Director of Public Affairs and Information Services.

We hope also to have a regular newsletter in publication shortly after the first of the year. This, Mr. Chairman, is an area that

there has been—and quite appropriately—great interest in having high public visibility on the part of the Institute and this is an area that we ourselves are moving vigorously to seek to meet that quite appropriate point that has been raised.

A second one, Mr. Chairman, is that, in addition to all of the other ongoing programs of the Institute, in one area we wish to especially add a new and what I believe will be a quite important program, and that is in the area of negotiator training, training for American diplomats, particularly, to the extent that this can be appropriately structured with the consent of the concerned governmental agencies and, more broadly, the whole question of curriculum development and our teaching function, which has been one of the last elements in the overall framework to be put together.

Ambassador Sam Lewis is going to share some more thoughts, particularly on that with you, and indeed it is the richness of his experience that will, I believe, enable the Institute to get out to a very fast start in this area.

Finally, Mr. Chairman, again let me just say in conclusion that we and the Nation owe a debt of gratitude to you for your foresight and your work in creating the United States Institute of Peace, something that I firmly believe will be recognized—indeed has already begun to be recognized—as an Institute playing a very important role in conflict management and in our national life.

And I believe that that is going to be increasingly evident to the American people as the years go by and that we will have something on the level of strong bipartisan support that is enjoyed by the Woodrow Wilson Center, for example, the Library of Congress and, of course, the Peace Corps itself.

Mr. Chairman, it is with a particular pride in being able to report to you what I believe is a very good story of positive news on the creation of this new and exciting Institute and it has been a great pleasure for me to bring this message to you.

[The prepared statement of Mr. Moore and responses to questions submitted by Senator Matsunaga follow:]

Testimony of
the Honorable John Norton Moore
Chairman of the Board
UNITED STATES INSTITUTE OF PEACE
before the
Committee on Labor and Human Resources
and the
Committee on Foreign Relations
United States Senate
November 10, 1987

Mr. Chairman, it is a great pleasure to be here with you this afternoon to discuss the progress of the United States Institute of Peace during its first twenty months of operation. On my left is Ambassador Samuel W. Lewis, who assumed office earlier this month as the second President of the Institute following a distinguished career in the Foreign Service. We are accompanied by the Institute's immediate past president, our General Counsel, the Director of our Grants Program, and our Administrative Officer—each of whom is prepared to assist in answering questions as necessary.

I don't know of anyone in the country, Mr. Chairman, who has worked harder than yourself to bring this Institute into being and make it prosper. From your role as Chairman of the Commission on Proposals for the National Academy of Peace and Conflict Resolution—which in 1981 issued recommendations which led to the establishment of the Institute of Peace—to your more recent efforts to ensure adequate funding for the

Institute, you have worked tirelessly to make the Institute a success. I appear before you today to bring a message of strong progress, and it is a particular honor to be privileged to share that message in person with one of the fathers of the Institute of Peace.

I am pleased to report that the Institute is off to a strong start—both in establishing a sound administrative structure and in developing and implementing its substantive programs. The Institute has established a solid base for its work and is engaged vigorously and professionally in carrying out its substantive mandate to promote enhanced understanding of conflict management among nations.

Fundamental Principles

You have before you a copy of our *Biennial Report* to Congress and the President,[1] which provides a considerable amount of detailed information about the Institute. I'd like to turn at this point to the fundamental principles which have guided our conduct in every area of the Institute's work. These are set forth on pages 1 through 4 of our *Biennial Report,* and their location at the very beginning was not coincidental. We believe they are of tremendous importance, and we hope that they will assist the Congress and the American people to understand what has taken place thus far:

[1] Published in September 1987 pursuant to Section 1712 of the U.S. Institute of Peace Act.

• **Highest standards of integrity.** Above all, we have been guided by a desire to conduct all of our affairs with the very highest standards of integrity. Nothing has been of greater importance to us, and I believe this commitment is reflected in our work.

• **Respect for intellectual excellence.** In all of our programs we have sought to be guided by a simple test: We want to support work of the highest intellectual caliber by scholars, diplomats, leaders in peace, and other individuals and organizations. This emphasis on the very highest standards of intellectual and professional excellence in everything that the Institute does must remain a hallmark of the work of the Institute now and in the future.

• **Broad-gauged, interdisciplinary approach.** We reject any effort to so narrow our subject matter that groups or individuals who might make a meaningful contribution are excluded from our activities. We have already invited historians, political scientists, legal scholars, economists, sociologists, anthropologists, linguists, psychologists, geographers, theologians, ethicists, literary critics, biologists, and physicists; along with specialists in conflict resolution, arms control, diplomacy, management, medical science, pedagogy, international organizations, and communications to participate in our work. Even with this effort, we still are not satisfied with the scope of our outreach efforts. We want every non-partisan group in the country which has relevant strengths to bring to this effort to join us in trying to understand the causes of war and improve the chances for international peace. Not only do we not have an ideological or

political "test" in deciding how to allocate Institute resources, but we have intentionally sought to work with a broad range of viewpoints, recognizing the strength of intellectual diversity and insisting only upon the highest degree of professional competence and intellectual relevance with respect to the Institute's overall mandate.

• **Evenhandedness and nonpartisanship in administration and programming.** By law the Institute is prohibited from applying any type of "political test" in its work, and we have given this provision a broad interpretation and applied it to every aspect of our work. The broad range of political views represented on our staff and by our grant and fellowship recipients stands as evidence of our efforts to be evenhanded and nonpartisan.

• **Non-Interventionism.** Another fundamental principle in our work has been that the Institute will not intervene in specific international disputes. This principle does not preclude persons from nations where there are conflicts from participating in the work of the Institute. The conduct of American foreign policy is, of course, vested in the President and the Secretary of State.

• **Service as trustees of the public purse.** We have made every possible effort to carry out our mandate in a cost-efficient manner. To provide just two examples:

-- By careful negotiating we were able to purchase our word processing equipment at between 11 and 22 percent below the government price negotiated by the General Services Administration.

--When we move into our new offices next month, we will be paying an effective rental rate that is 16 per cent below the average rate paid by GSA for similar space in the Washington area in recent years.

We are working closely with our auditing firm, Arthur Young and Co., to insure that the American people will continue to receive a good return on their investment in the Institute.

• **Independence.** Another primary emphasis has been independence. The legislative history of our enabling statute—and, indeed, the statutory text itself—makes clear that the United States Institute of Peace was not designed to become part of the Executive branch. We believe that one of the great accomplishments of our early months in existence was the establishment of this independence.

• **Tradition.** While the Institute as a whole is unique, both the American commitment to international peace and the tools we have been given to carry out our responsibilities—research, education and training, and information services—are analogous to those found in other federally-supported programs. We have tried to take advantage of the years of experience of other organizations, such as

the Smithsonian Institution's Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars, in designing and establishing our own programs.

Brief Summary of Work to Date

We have now almost completed the start-up phase of our development. The non-governmental members of the Board of Directors took their oath of office from Chief Justice Burger on February 25, 1986, and during our first two-day meeting we had very positive meetings with President Reagan, Secretary of State Shultz, and several of our strongest supporters in the Congress. I recall very well the warm advice and encouragement which you gave us at that time—and I also recall looking ahead at the challenges before us with no little apprehension at what needed to be done.

As an expression of its support for the Institute, the White House generously permitted us to occupy one of the prestigious townhouses on Jackson Place as our first headquarters. The initial lease of six months has been extended twice in further gestures of support. It was a perfect location for our formative period, lending dignity and a sense of tradition to our work. The Jackson Place townhouse was spacious for the initial staff of three, and adequate when we reached eleven earlier this year. But our staff now numbers fourteen and our first three in-residence Jennings Randolph Distinguished Fellows are now actively at work. To meet the need for more permanent and larger quarters, we are scheduled to move into our new facilities next month.

New President

Another important change reflective of the transition from start-up to full operational status is the selection of our new president. Robert F. Turner agreed to serve as our first president for a period of up to one year in order to assist the Institute in getting off to a quick start. Late last year we began a major, national search for a new president. This process included contacting every college and university president in the nation seeking nominations, advertising the position widely in *The New York Times* and other periodicals, and seeking other nominations through letters to leaders in government, the professions, business and labor.

In the end we found ourselves nearly overwhelmed with more than 270 resumes. Bob agreed to extend his term another few months in order to permit our search and selection process to continue in an orderly process. In July the Board selected Ambassador Samuel W. Lewis to be his successor. Ambassador Lewis brings tremendous strength to the Institute, having devoted his entire adult life to the pursuit of peace through a career in the Foreign Service. In addition to serving as Assistant Secretary of State for International Organization Affairs, Ambassador Lewis served for eight years as U.S. Ambassador to Israel—during which time he was a key player in the Camp David peace negotiations. Since retiring from the Foreign Service in 1985, he has served as Chairman of the Board of the Harry S. Truman Research Institute for the Advancement of Peace at Hebrew University in Jerusalem. Ambassador Lewis took office as the new President of the United States Institute of Peace on the first of this month.

New Board Nominee

We hope to have still another outstanding individual associated with the Institute in the near future. On September 29, 1987, the President nominated Professor Elspeth Rostow, Stiles Professor of American Studies and former Dean of the Lyndon B. Johnson School of Public Affairs at the University of Texas at Austin, to fill the vacant seat on our Board of Directors. We hope the Senate will act expeditiously in giving its consent to this superb nomination so that she will be able to join us quickly.

Program Overview

Let me turn briefly to an overview of some of our substantive programs. Here, too, the record is a very positive one. Several important programs are actively underway, and others are being initiated virtually every month. In the interest of time, let me just mention half-a-dozen programs:

- Pursuant to Section 1705(c) of our enabling statute, at least one-fourth of our annual appropriation must be devoted to grants and contracts with official public or non-profit institutions. Our **Grants Program** was announced in July 1986, and by the end of September of this year the Institute had considered grant applications from more than fifty states, territories, and foreign nations requesting a total of nearly $25 million in assistance. From

these requests, the Institute has approved the awarding of more than fifty grants, totaling nearly $1.5 million, going to recipients in nineteen states and three foreign countries. In an effort to reach as many highly qualified applicants as possible, we have sent personal letters to every college and university president in the country announcing the program and seeking names for our mailing list, and have also sent materials to appropriate professional organizations and independent non-profit research institutes. More than eleven thousand grant application forms are presently in circulation throughout the nation and the world.

• In February of this year we announced the creation of our **Jennings Randolph Program for International Peace** with the appointment of eight Jennings Randolph Distinguished Fellows from the United States and abroad. As the biographical material which appears on pages 49-50 of our *Biennial Report* reflects, the initial group of Distinguished Fellows is an exceptionally powerful and talented group of men and women. The Randolph Program contains two other types of fellowships—a mid-level Peace Fellows program, and a program providing dissertation support to Ph.D. candidates in peace-related fields. The information brochure and application materials for each of these programs was approved by the Board of Directors at last week's meeting, and we are opening the competition for all three fellowships later this month.

Our third major category of activities—in addition to grants and fellowships—are the **in-house projects** which are summarized on

pages 21-25 of our *Biennial Report*. Several of these are already actively underway. For example:

• Our ***National Peace Essay Contest*** for high school students was begun last month with a mailing to more than 24,000 high school principals across the United States, its territories and possessions, and at United States Armed Forces high schools abroad. This annual program invites high school students to think seriously about issues of war and peace and to publish their thoughts in school newspapers or other publications so that they may be contemplated by their classmates. The essay question for this year's contest involves the relationship between human rights and international peace. Both national and state-level prizes in the form of scholarships will be awarded, and winners will be invited to Washington to meet with their congressional delegations and for other appropriate events.

• We are also doing some preliminary work with **public television** as an educational medium. Our first production will be ready for broadcasting early next month on the eve of the U.S.-Soviet summit talks here in Washington. In September we joined with the Smithsonian Institution's Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars in bringing together at the WETA broadcast studios in Northern Virginia an outstanding cross-section of preeminent scholars, historians, and former senior government officials to examine the history, purposes, and effectiveness of U.S.-Soviet summitry as a vehicle for peace. The conference, which was

moderated by Librarian of Congress James H. Billington, was videotaped and is now being transformed into a one-hour educational television program. Appropriate viewers guides and other instructional materials are also being put together so that this pilot program may be used in classrooms and other settings in the months and years ahead. Television is obviously an expensive medium, but it is also one of the most effective means of reaching a large audience and fulfilling part of our public education role.

• We have also made substantial progress in our ongoing study to develop an **Intellectual Map of the Field** of international conflict management. The Institute views its charge to be a broad one, and rather than limiting our efforts to only one or two approaches to peacemaking we are seeking to reach out to a wide range of disciplines to identify and examine virtually every serious intellectual approach. Next week the Board will hold the fifth in a series of public colloquia bringing together top experts from around the nation to explore competing theories. Past participants in this series are listed on page 59 of our Biennial Report. Next week's session will address the role of negotiation and diplomacy in achieving and maintaining international peace, and will include presentations by Professors Roger Fisher and I. William Zartman, former diplomats Arthur Hartman and David Newsom, and other experts in these fields. This project will lead to a major national conference in June of 1988, which will bring together the most prominent thinkers in each of these fields to exchange views. The Institute will then prepare and publish a book-length report identifying the various

intellectual approaches and assessing their particular strengths and weaknesses. This project will also help the Institute to establish new priorities for its grants and other substantive programs and to clearly indicate that its mandate encompasses the broadest scope across all disciplines and intellectual approaches.

• Let me just touch on one additional area, because it will receive considerably more attention in coming months than it has thus far. The field is **negotiator training.** It is a subject dear to the heart of our new president, and he is already designing a series of programs to enhance our work in this important field.

Priorities for the Future

Mr. Chairman, I have tried to give you a brief overview of some of the guiding principles which have helped make the Institute a success up to this point, and some of our accomplishments to date. Let me turn now to the future. Frankly, in a very real sense, our very highest short-term priority is obtaining adequate funding from Congress to implement our existing programs and begin the other work envisioned by our enabling Act. We are grateful to you for your past support in this area, Mr. Chairman, and I hope we can continue to call upon you to help tell the story of the Institute's success to others in the Senate and the House of Representatives.

Assuming that we succeed in obtaining adequate funding to continue and expand our work, there are two specific areas where we recognize more attention needs to be given:

• **Public Outreach and Information Services**—We made a conscious decision when the Institute was first set up to take a low-key approach during our start up period. We thought it important to establish a strong administrative infrastructure and to get some of our substantive programs successfully underway before we initiated a major public outreach program. That mission has been accomplished, and we are now determined to bring our success story to the people of this country and the world, and to expand our contacts to include more organizations and individuals in the work of the Institute. Some of this work has already begun. At our request the Department of State sent a message last month to every U.S. mission around the world, informing U.S. diplomats about the work of the Institute and inviting them to bring our existence to the attention of foreign governments and appropriate non-governmental groups and individuals. Copies of our *Biennial Report* are being sent to each U.S. Embassy. Several of our ongoing programs, including the high school essay contest and the educational television project, will also help to bring our work to the attention of the public. Our meetings and colloquia have been open to the public—and through mailings to colleges, universities, professional organizations, and research centers we have managed to compile a substantial mailing list. Still, we want to do a great deal more in our public outreach efforts. I am pleased to announce that we have recently secured the services of Mr. John Richardson—a former Assistant Secretary of State for Cultural Affairs and President of the respected international student

exchange program *Youth for Understanding*—to serve as the Institute's Counsellor and Director of Public Affairs and Information Services. One of his primary and immediate responsibilities is to conduct a national and international outreach program to involve more organizations with the Institute of Peace. While we have in the past sent representatives to several peace and dispute resolution conferences in the United States, Europe, and just this weekend in Canada, we are confident that under the leadership of Sam Lewis and John Richardson this aspect of our work will improve substantially within the coming months. We expect to have a regular newsletter in publication shortly after the first of the year.

• **Negotiator Training Program**—I have already referred to another high priority for the coming months, a major emphasis on training programs in international negotiation. We are very enthusiastic about this area of our work, and hope that through our efforts government negotiators will be able to improve their skills and the public will receive a better understanding of the importance of good negotiating skills in trying to manage international conflicts. President Lewis will take the lead in this area, which will probably include cooperative endeavors with other appropriate governmental institutions.

• **Curriculum Development**—We have thus far deferred action on most grant proposals seeking support for the development of precollegiate education curricula and curricular materials. We recognize this to be an extremely important part of our mandate,

and to insure that we are doing it right we have decided to put together a blue ribbon panel of prominent experts from around the nation to examine the needs and make recommendations to the Institute on how we might best proceed in this area. I would hope that we will have a substantial report ready for national distribution by the end of fiscal year 1988, and recommendations regarding in-house curriculum development and grantmaking by the Spring of 1988.

Conclusion

Mr. Chairman, in this brief overview I have tried to convey to you the reality of the Institute of Peace. We are mindful that much still remains to be done, but we believe that a great deal of very positive work has been done in which we can all take pride. In the past twenty months we have sought to carry out our mandate in a manner consistent with the highest standards of professional and ethical behavior, and as we enter into a new phase of our development—with a strong new president at the helm—I believe the administrative structure and initial programs we have begun will serve us well. None of our success, of course, would have been possible without the strong support and guidance which you and others in the Senate and the House have provided to us over the years. We remain most grateful, and hope that we will be able to call upon you and other members of the committees in the coming months as often as we have in the past. This concludes my prepared statement. We will be pleased to answer any questions you might have at this time.

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November 27, 1987

The Honorable Spark M. Matsunaga
The Honorable Claiborne Pell
The Honorable Robert T. Stafford
Committee on Labor and Human Resources
United States Senate
Washington, D.C. 20510

Dear Senators Matsunaga, Pell, and Stafford:

On behalf of the United States Institute of Peace, I wish to extend our appreciation for the oversight hearing which the Senate Committees on Labor and Human Resources and on Foreign Relations held on November 10, 1987.

Ambassador Samuel Lewis and I are pleased to respond to your written questions. Their text and our answers are enclosed.

With best wishes,

Sincerely,

John Norton Moore

John Norton Moore
Chairman of the Board

Enclosure: Questions and Answers Following Oversight Hearing

QUESTIONS BY SENATOR MATSUNAGA

GRANTS TO NONPROFIT AND OFFICIAL PUBLIC INSTITUTIONS

Senator MATSUNAGA: During Committee consideration of the U. S. Institute of Peace Act in 1984, the Labor and Human Resources Committee added an amendment mandating the Institute to "pass through" one-fourth of its annual appropriation to "nonprofit and official public institutions" (Section 1705[c]). It appears that a number of the Institute's grants have been awarded to individuals. Were these counted as grants to "nonprofit and official public institutions"?

Chairman MOORE: No, grants to individuals are not counted among the grants to nonprofit and official public institutions. Of the 50 grant awards announced between the beginning of grantmaking July 15, 1986, and September 30, 1987, 36 awards totalling $1,127,172 went to nonprofit and official public institutions and 14 awards totalling $250,125 to individuals. Since the end of fiscal year 1987, the Institute has made an additional 7 offers of grant awards, of which 4 awards totalling $56,650 are to nonprofit and official public institutions and 3 awards totalling $54,000 are to individuals. In sum, $1,183,822 is for grants to 40 nonprofit and official public institutions and $304,125 for grants to 17 individuals. One-fourth of the Institute's total appropriations to date ($4,625,000) is $1,156,250. Thus, taking the pending awards into account, the total obligation and allocation to nonprofit and official public institutions in the Grants Program would exceed the twenty-five percent minimum requirement by $27,572.

In making these calculations, in no instance is a grant to an individual counted among those to nonprofit and offical public institutions. It is important to keep in mind, however, that the project work of an individual or a small group of individuals may be supported by an award to an institution. An award to an institution for such work would, within section 1705(c) of the United States Institute of Peace Act, be considered a grant to an institution and thus a step toward fulfilling the requirement that twenty-five percent of annual appropriations be paid in grants or contracts to nonprofit or official public institutions. For example, the Center for International Affairs at Harvard University received a grant of $40,000 to support the work of a project on interactive problem-solving under the direction of Professor Herbert C. Kelman as well as Professor Kelman's preparation of a book on the socio-psychological dimensions of international conflict with the Middle East conflict as a case study; the Center for Peace Learning at George Fox College received a grant of $15,000 to support research and writing by two faculty members, Dr. Long Fendall and Mr. Ron Mock, of a monograph on recent peaceful political change in the Philippines and Haiti; Pepperdine University received a grant of $10,000 to support the writing of a book-length study by Professor Dan Caldwell on the public debate in the U.S. that led to the non-ratification of the SALT II Agreement; the Research Institute on International Change of the Comparative Defense Studies Program at Columbia University received a grant of $40,000 to support a project directed by Dr. Stephanie Neuman to create a computerized databank, using publicly available sources, on Third World military arms production and its impact on civilian sectors; and the University of Maryland received a grant of $10,000 to support in part the research and writing by Professor

David Segal on U.S. military participation in the Multinational Force and Observers in the Sinai following the Camp David Accords.

GRANT SIZE

Senator MATSUNAGA: Can you tell us about the rationale behind the Institute's decision to award a number of relatively small individual grants in addition to institutional grants?

Chairman MOORE: Given the limited means available to the Institute during its start-up period, the Board of Directors decided that its grantmaking could be rendered most effective if it were to support with modest grants the work of individual scholars and small groups of researchers for the production of scholarly articles, monographs, and books. (These grants in some cases have gone directly to the individual and in other cases they have gone to the institution at which the individual works. The latter would, under section 1705(c) of the Act, be considered a grant to an institution.) In many instances, a grant of $5,000-$25,000 can result in a piece of effective scholarly writing that will be of use to other scholars, to students, and to the public at large for a considerable number of years to come. A grant of this size can also serve to stimulate other institutions and grantmakers to make additional grants to meet applicant needs more fully. In most cases, the Institute's grants to individuals have provided but a third of the original request. In some of those cases, the Institute has made awards on the condition that an additional sum be raised from other givers before Institute funds would be released. All grantees who have received partial support from the

Institute have either agreed to produce the work proposed at the level of support provided or have raised the additional funding needed to complete their projects as described.

IMPACT OF INDIVIDUAL AND INSTITUTIONAL GRANTS

Senator MATSUNAGA: Do you think that such individual grants will have as much impact as larger institutional grants?

Chairman MOORE: The average grant awarded by the Institute of Peace to date has been a little over $26,000. As long as Institute funding remains at the current level, grants of this magnitude are likely to be the norm. It may be said that a grant of $26,000 to an individual scholar and a grant of the same size in support of an institution are likely to have similar impact. Such a grant to a scholar may produce one good book in a year's time; such a grant to an institution may support an important part of an institutional teaching and research program for a year. Federal grantmaking experience shows that, in order to be effective, government support for large institutional programs must be substantial and continuous (i.e., yearly) and be matched and eventually supplanted by support from the institutions themselves. While the Institute of Peace awaits the more substantial funding from Congress that will permit institutional support grants, we will be working with large institutional programs to assure that the impact of grants within the Institute's means is significant and on-going.

PRIVATE FUNDING

Senator MATSUNAGA: In your opinion, should the Institute be authorized to accept private contributions and donations in a manner similar to (for example) the U.S. Military Academy at West Point or the National Defense University?

Chairman MOORE: Section 1705(g) of the United States Institute of Peace Act bars the Institute from receiving private gifts and contributions. As a matter of background, the legislation upon which the statutory provisions establishing the Institute are based — the United States Peace Academy Act, S. 564, 98th Cong., 1st Sess. — did, however, authorize the proposed academy to receive private gifts and contributions. In the report of the Committee on Labor and Human Resources (Report No. 98-244, 98th Cong., 1st Sess.) that accompanied the bill, additional views addressed, at pages 36-37, the question of federal and private funding. They spoke of "core funding from the federal government and supplemental funding from the private sector" and stated that the "mix of public and private funding will further assure the Academy's independence, and will enable the Academy to conduct research, education and training activities in a broader range of fields than would be possible otherwise." Referring by analogy to private support for the military service academies and the National Defense University, they observed that the worry over possible institutional control by "major private sector contributors ... has not happened in the case of the military service academies and the National Defense University, all of which are permitted to accept private contributions and gifts" and, they were

confident, would not occur in the case of the proposed peace academy. Their brief review indicated that both restricted and non-restricted giving was permitted to support the military academies and the National Defense University and that important sums had been raised to the benefit of those institutions. Minority views, set forth on page 47 of the committee report, opposed private contributions for fear that congressional accountability would be harmed and that the academy could be "open to the influence of private contributors, each with his own narrow agenda...."

As reviewed in the Biennial Report, the definition and development of the Institute's independence is a major accomplishment of the first Board of Directors. We believe that the Institute should not support steps that would jeopardize its independence or be the carrier of narrow partisan agendas. With those interests in mind, I would approach the question of private gifts and contributions with caution. It is possible, I believe, that a poorly-guided institution stretched thin for funding and enticed by a sizeable gift to meet an immediate dilemma could succumb and risk loss of its independence as well as its institutional integrity. Our Board has exercised great care on these fundamental matters, and I would hope that Congress, too, will continue its vigilance to protect the Institute against such problems.

In regard to the specific question, I believe that at an appropriate time the Institute should be authorized to accept unearmarked private gifts and contributions for purposes as determined by the Board of Directors. While it would be premature to comment on the precise timing for modifying the

Act to include such authority, the following factors are, in my view, among those to be taken into account:

- The Institute's core funding, for administration and operational costs and for programming, should be based on public funding. Congress should ensure sufficient funding for the Institute to be able to develop broad-based and comprehensive programming with public funds as we have begun in the areas of grants, fellowships, and Institute projects.

- As a national institution, the Institute should not be forced to depend on private fund-raising to meet the financial needs for its basic work. It should, however, be in a position to receive unearmarked gifts and contributions that would advance the public purposes for which it was established.

- It should always be kept in mind that one important aspect of the Institute's independence is that it is an independent, nonprofit corporation governed by a presidentially-appointed, Senate-confirmed Board of Directors. That Board, acting in the sunlight of public scrutiny, sets the Institute's policies and guides its activities. Equally important is the role that Congress plays in overseeing the Institute's performance, through periodic reports from the Institute and, in general terms, our stepped-up public information activities; participation in Institute activities; and hearings such as this one. That is the context within which private funding would occur. It is one in which we now have some experience and with which we

feel comfortable and confident. Therefore, once Congress has determined an adequate base level of public funding for the Institute — a situation which we hope will occur in the near future — I believe that Congress should consider investing the Institute with authority to accept unearmarked private gifts and contributions.

QUESTIONS BY SENATOR STAFFORD

INDEPENDENCE

Senator STAFFORD: Over the past two years how has the United States Institute of Peace kept itself independent of the Executive Branch?

Chairman MOORE: The principal focus of the Institute's relationship with the Executive Branch has been the Office of Management and Budget, and the principal question has concerned the Institute's funding. The record of the Institute's appearance before the Senate Appropriations Subcommittee on Labor, Health and Human Services, Education and Related Agencies on March 3, 1987 includes the correspondence between the Institute and OMB concerning the question of independence. In essence, those documents provide the legal and policy justificiations for the Institute proceeding independently to Congress with its own budget request. The authority to proceed without first receiving OMB permission is provided by the United States Institute of Peace Act, section 17054(b), in which Congress established the Instititute as "an independent nonprofit corporation" and in section 1709(a) which provides that "[n]othing in this title may be construed as limiting the authority of the Office of Management and Budget to review and submit comments on the Institute's budget request at the time it is transmitted to the Congress." This authority to proceed directly to Congress contrasts with the requirement that Executive Branch agencies support only the budget figure set in the President's budget. The authority to transmit one's own budget request to Congress is not unique to the Institute and might best be

compared with the Smithsonian Institution, another independent institution. On both instances when the Institute prepared to testify before the Senate and House appropriations subcommittees, we informed OMB of our appearance and provided OMB with our testimony at the same time we submitted it to the committees. It is important to state here, too, that we have excellent professional working relationships with OMB personnel and appreciate the assistance they have provided to us.

Beyond the appropriations area, the Institute has effectuated its independence through its Endowment and its programmatic and other decisions. In September 1986, acting under section 1704(c) of the Act, the Board directed the establishment in the District of Columbia of a nonprofit corporation named the Endowment of the United States Institute of Peace. The Endowment's Articles of Incorporation are reproduced in Appendix F of the Biennial Report upon which this hearing is based. As authorized by section 1710(b) of the Act, the Board has directed the transfer of appropriated funds to the Endowment. From fiscal year 1985/1986 appropriations, $3,700,000 was transferred. Those funds were thereby available to the Institute "without regard to fiscal year limitations." Section 1710(b) of the Act. With those monies available for fiscal year 1987, Congress appropriated for the Institute in fiscal year 1987 the relatively low sum of $625,000, thereby providing us a budget level of $4.3 million for fiscal year 1987. Second, in its personnel policies, as stated in our Biennial Report, the Institute has adhered strictly to the requirement of section 1709(b) of the Act that any personnel action or action related to any fund recipient be taken without regard to political tests or political qualifications. Third, the Institute has conducted its activities with the

required high degree of public openness, having held eighteen Board meetings since first convening at the end of February 1986. Most meetings have covered two days, with at least one day in public session. Executive sessions have been governed by the references to the Government in the Sunshine Act in section 1706(h)(3) of the United States Institute of Peace Act. Finally, as a point of institutional purpose, the Board has identified as one of its major guideposts the Institute's status as an independent corporation outside the Executive Branch, and its policies and actions have at all times kept that purpose squarely in mind.

NATIONAL PEACE ESSAY CONTEST

Senator STAFFORD: I understand that the United States Institute of Peace sponsors a National Peace Essay Contest for high school students. Could you tell me about this program?

Chairman MOORE: The United States Institute of Peace launched its National Peace Essay Contest for high school students on October 1, 1987, with a mailing of contest brochures and posters to all 24,000 public and private high school principals and headmasters in the United States, its territories, and in the Overseas Dependent Schools. A similar mailing was done in mid-November to nearly 11,000 chapters of Quill and Scroll, the high-school journalism honorary society. Entries may be submitted at any time between October 15, 1987, and March 15, 1988.

The contest will be an annual program of the Institute that invites high school students to reflect seriously on international peace and the management of international conflict, as well as to provide them with a forum to express their ideas and opinions. This year, we have asked students to write an essay on the following topic, which is reproduced as it appears in the official contest brochure:

> **The participating States recognize the unusual significance of human rights and fundamental freedoms, respect for which is an essential factor for the peace, justice and well-being necessary to ensure the development of friendly relations and co-operation among themselves as among all States. ... The participating States reaffirm the universal significance of respect for and effective exercise of equal rights and self-determination of peoples for the development of friendly relations among themselves as among all States.**
>
> This statement comes from the Final Declaration of the 1975 Conference for Security and Co-Operation in Europe. We know the document produced by this conference by another name: the Helsinki Accords. Principles 7 and 8 of these now famous Accords (from which the quotation above is taken) pledge their signatories to observe universal standards of human rights, fundamental freedoms, and self-determination. Thirty-five nations, including the United States and the Soviet Union, signed the Helsinki Accords.
>
> In an essay that does not exceed 1,500 words in length, examine the relationship between (a) peace and (b) human rights, fundamental freedoms, and self-determination of peoples as affirmed in the Helsinki Final Act quoted above.

In order to assure authenticity of entries without overburdening high school faculty and administrators and to add an important dimension to the contest, the Institute requires that all entries first be published in an official

high school publication (e.g., newspaper or literary magazine). This will allow entrants to share their ideas and opinions with their peers and the general public as well as with the contest judges and the Institute. There is a provision in the contest rules to allow high schools that do not have appropriate publications already in place to create them for the purpose of contest participation.

State-level judging will be done by 212 present and past high school teachers and international affairs scholars and educators nominated by such national organizations as the National Council for the Social Studies, the National Retired Teachers Association, and the International Studies Association. National level judging will be carried out by the Board of Directors of the Institute of Peace.

State-level first-, second-, and third-place winners will receive college scholarships of $250, $150, $100, respectively. National first-, second-, and third-place winners will receive college scholarships of $5,000, $2,500, and $1,000, respectively. All winners and participants will receive appropriate certificates, as will sponsoring student publications. State first-place essays will be entered in the national competition, and their authors will be invited to Washington, D.C., during the weekend of June 18-19, 1988, for an awards ceremony and the opportunity to meet with members of Congress and the media. The Institute will endeavor to have winning state and national essays published in local, regional, and national print media during the summer of 1988.

The National Peace Essay Contest is being overseen by the Education and Training Committee of the Board of Directors. That committee is chaired by Professor Allen Weinstein of Boston University, winner of the 1986 United Nations Peace Medal. The contest has been placed on the National Advisory List of Contests and Activities for 1987-88 by the National Association of Secondary School Principals. President Reagan and Education Secretary Bennett have provided letters of encouragement that have been included in the official contest brochure.

THE INSTITUTE'S PRINCIPAL GOAL

Senator STAFFORD: What, in your view, is the principal goal of the United States Institute of Peace?

Ambassador LEWIS: In the United States Institute of Peace Act, the Congress has defined the Institute's goals so broadly as to encompass nearly every possible approach to the better understanding by scholars and the general public of the sources of international conflict and of possible ways to promote the substitution of peaceful methods of settling international disputes in place of warfare. The goals cluster under general headings of research and public education.

Based on my reading of the Act and the legislative history, I would be loathe to identify either of these two purposes as the "principal goal". The Institute should try to pursue both to the extent that financial resources and available intellectual capital permit. It should support research and publication that will deepen the store of knowledge about the causes of

war and about promising approaches to its containment; it should also seek to inform government officials, interested private individuals and the general public — in ways which are understandable to the layman — about that store of knowledge. These goals are parallel and interwoven; the aim must be to enhance our overall capability to work successfully for a more peaceful world.

OUTREACH TO PUBLIC SCHOOLS

Senator STAFFORD: I was interested to hear that a top priority for the future of the Institute is public outreach and information services. Do you foresee any further outreach to public schools across the country?

Ambassador LEWIS: The National Peace Essay Contest will be an annual event. This means that the Institute will have a enduring — and direct — link to our nation's high schools. Students, teachers, and administrators who are interested in issues of international peace or who seek guidance regarding peace education will thus come to regard the Institute as a concerned and accessible resource.

During fiscal year 1988, the Institute plans to make a substantial number of grants in support of precollegiate programs for instruction in international peace and conflict management. The extent of our outreach in this regard will be limited only by the resources at our disposal and the initiative and expertise of secondary-school teachers and administrators in designing appropriate curricula and curricular materials.

Before such a giving program can commence, however, the Institute is investigating the needs of, and opportunities in, precollegiate peace education. At present we are completing final preparations for our Curriculum Advisory Project. Under this program, a blue-ribbon panel of educators and international affairs experts will review the state of peace education in our schools and advise the Institute on its work in this area. During the first half of 1988, the panel will advise the Institute on its grantmaking in precollegiate peace education and suggest possible in-house projects. One result of this may be the production of precollegiate peace curricula and curricular materials by the Institute. In the fall of 1988, the Curriculum Advisory Project will produce a substantial published report on its work for national dissemination. We hope that this report will become a major guide to precollegiate peace education — and a critically important resource for educators and concerned citizens.

QUESTIONS BY SENATOR PELL

DOMESTIC CONFLICT

Senator PELL: Should the Institute play a role in helping to resolve domestic conflict?

Chairman MOORE: Not directly. The Institute's focus is, as stated in section 1702(b) of the Act, on the promotion of "international peace and the resolution of conflicts among the nations and peoples of the world... ." There may, however, be research findings or information disseminated by the Institute that could have a carry-over effect for domestic conflict, or knowledge emerging from domestic conflict-resolution efforts that could be relevant to the resolution of international conflict.

PEACEMAKING ACTIVITIES IN THE UNITED STATES

Senator PELL: Should the Institute strengthen existing peacemaking activities in the United States such as the nuclear freeze movement?

Chairman MOORE: The Institute should neither strengthen nor weaken such activities. It is entirely possible that the Institute's work will inform those activities, as an educational matter, but the Institute will not set out to add to or detract from the strength of domestic political movements. The Board has been guided by the expection that the Institute not be involved in political activities. The Act, in section 1705(m), prohibits lobbying at all levels, and woven throughout the history of the Institute and

the Act itself are statements steering the Institute away from direct involvement in policymaking or in activities that set out to influence public issues before policymaking bodies of our government. Although the line between advocacy and education is not always clear, the Board is determined both that the Institute's work not be politicized and yet that it be relevant to the issues of our day as they pertain to the pursuit of peace among nations. Thus, at times questions of intervention have and will continue to come before the Institute, whether in the form of grant proposals or suggestions for work the Institute itself might undertake. Judgments will continue to be made as the Institute develops. As the Biennial Report indicates, a major theme of the Institute's direction has been integrity, which includes respect for intellectual excellence and evenhandedness and nonpartisanship in administration and programming.

SELECTED GRANT HIGHLIGHTS

Senator PELL: Could you highlight some of the research and training projects that the Institute has funded?

Chairman MOORE: The following is a sample of grants made to date in the (a) research and studies and (b) education and training categories.

Research and Studies

• The Albert Einstein Institution, Cambridge, Massachusetts (Gene Sharp, Project Director): The Institute has made a one-year institutional grant in the amount of $50,000 in support of three projects on the use of

nonviolent sanctions in confronting political violence. These include a comprehensive bibliography of English-language book literature on nonviolent sanctions and related matters; a book identifying major research tasks and policy analyses that need to be undertaken on the subject and a recommended research agenda for the next decade; and a book gathering new knowledge and thinking about the nature, practice, and policy potential of nonviolent sanctions based on five years of seminars on these topics at Harvard University. Dr. Sharp is a pioneer in this area of research and surely its best known and most productive student.

• The Brookings Institution, Washington, D.C. (Harold Saunders, Project Director): The Institute has made a nine-month institutional grant of $20,000 in support of research and writing of a monograph on the contribution of nongovernmental diplomatic activity ("Track II diplomacy") to the peaceful resolution of international disputes. Mr. Saunders, former Assistant Secretary of State for Near Eastern and South Asian Affairs, has already completed a substantial portion of his work on this project and has shared drafts of its various parts with a very large number of scholars and policy practitioners in the United States and abroad, including the Soviet Union. Thus, even before it is published in final form, the monograph will have generated considerable discussion among the audience for which it was intended.

• Nirmala Chandrahasan, Human Rights Program, Harvard Law School, Cambridge, Massachusetts: The Institute made a one-year individual grant of $5,000 to allow Dr. Chandrahasan to complete a

comparative study of the extent to which international human rights standards and international conventions on refugee law have been applied in the practice of states making determinations regarding refugee status and asylum. Dr. Chandrahasan is former Dean of the Faculty of Law, University of Columbo, Sri Lanka. Her study will focus on the handling of Tamil refugees as a case in point.

• The Foreign Policy Research Institute, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania (Vladimir Tismaneanu, Michael Radu, and Milan Hauner, Principal Investigators): Our one-year institutional grant of $58,704 is supporting a book-length study of nonofficial peace movements in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe and their relations with their respective governments. Mr. Tismaneau and Drs. Radu and Hauner are scholars with vast knowledge of the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe and with well-developed contacts among the nonofficial peace movements there. Their work will provide an important measure of the extent and intensity of organized nongovernmental interest in, and advocacy of, peace in the Eastern bloc.

• Allan Gerson, Esq., Chevy Chase, Maryland: The Institute's one-year individual grant of $35,000 is being used to research and write a book on revitalizing the role of international law in United States foreign policy. This book will focus on (a) the relationship between the goals of United States foreign policy and the basic principles of international law, (b) bringing principles of constitutionalism to bear in the deliberations of the United Nations, and (c) integrating a revitalized international law into United States public diplomacy and foreign policy decisionmaking. It is

the Institute's hope that Mr. Gerson's work will bolster respect for international law both in the United States and abroad and suggest creative new ways in which the rule of law might counterbalance the aggressive use of force internationally. Mr. Gerson is former Senior Advisor to the Attorney General of the United States on International Affairs and former Special Counsel to the United States Permanent Representative to the United Nations.

• The James Madison Foundation, Washington, D.C. (George S. Weigel, Jr., and Father John P. Langan, Project Directors): Our one-year institutional grant of $91,400 is funding (a) a series of seminars (and resulting publications) for scholars and foreign policy practitioners and commentators reconsidering the basic religious and ethical questions regarding war and peace and (b) a survey of related curricula employed in U.S. theological seminaries. This project has already gathered an impressive list of thinkers and policymakers together in intense discussions of the religious and moral side of the debate on war and peace. By the time it is completed, the seminar series will have brought religious and philosophical partisans of most major perspectives into animated discussion of many of the prominent issues of the current debate. Several articles that began as discussion papers have already been published, and a publisher has expressed interest in the final collection of essays. Mr. Weigel is author of the widely acclaimed *Tranquillitas Ordinis* (Oxford University Press, 1986). Father Langan teaches at the Woodstock Theological Seminary at Georgetown University, which has hosted the seminars.

• Jacques Semelin, Visiting Scholar, Center for International Affairs, Harvard University: The Institute's one-year individual grant of $30,000 is supporting the writing of a book on the role of the information revolution in building peace between East and West over the next twenty years. The study will focus on advances in technology, broadcast programming, and the role of information in international relations generally. Dr. Semelin is a noted French scholar of nonviolence as well as international communication. It is our hope that his book will be published in Europe as well as the U.S. and will afford the foreign affairs community and the public at large a sweeping perspective on present and future opportunities to turn technological advances in communication into means for peaceful resolution of international differences.

• University of the Philippines at Los Banos (Luziminda B. Cornista and Sinesio M. Mariano, Project Directos): Our one-year institutional grant of $25,000 has gone to support a study of how "rebel returnees" can be functionally integrated into the mainstream of Philippine national development and of what the implications of such re-integration might be for the prospects of peace in the general setting of Third World insurgencies. Drs. Cornista and Mariano are U.S.-educated rural development specialists. It is our hope that their work will provide a case study for effecting reconciliation of conflicting factions in Third World nations struggling for peace and democracy.

Education and Training

• The American University, Washington, D.C. (Abdul Aziz Said, Project Director): Our one-year institutional grant of $34,380 was given to assist the university in adding a multi-course Peace and Conflict Resolution concentration to its already highly useful Washington Semester undergraduate study and internship program and to provide for the development of a curriculum and peace information library in support of that concentration. Our grant will permit students who come from colleges around the U.S. to study peace and conflict resolution in the classroom and to have the benefit of the experience of working in government agencies and private organizations making contributions to peace and nonviolent conflict resolution. Professor Said teaches in the School of International Service at the university.

• Center for International Security and Strategic Studies, Mississippi State University (Janos Radvanyi, Project Director): The Institute's one-year institutional grant of $38,980 will allow the Center to (a) add to the permanent curriculum of the university one multi-disciplinary and five departmental courses on international peace and conflict resolution and (b) conduct a workshop on the teaching of peace and conflict resolution education for secondary schools. This grant is a model of what a modest amount of money, properly applied, can do to install a continuing program of peace education at a university and to assist in the training of secondary-school instructors who need to respond to the needs of their immediate communities. Dr. Radvanyi is Professor of Political Science and Director of the Center.

• New Hampshire Council on World Affairs, Durham, New Hampshire (David L. Larson, Project Director): Our one-year institutional grant of $5,000 will assist the Council in launching a multi-year project designed to train teachers in the New Hampshire secondary schools in the international affairs and peace fields. The project will (a) develop teaching strategies in topic areas related to international relations and peace education, (b) correlate the teaching of social studies and peace education, and (c) provide curriculum guides for secondary schools human rights and peace education. Dr. Larson is Associate Professor of Political Science at the University of New Hampshire.

• Peace Education Program, Teachers College, Columbia University, New York, New York (Betty Reardon, Project Director): The Institute's one-year institutional grant of $40,000 will assist the Peace Education Program in educating secondary-school teachers in the relationship between human rights and international peace. The project will (a) prepare model human rights courses for inclusion in peace studies curricula for graduate schools of education, (b) prepare human rights and peace program outlines and other curricular materials for in-service teacher education courses, and (c) provide curriculum guides for secondary school human rights and peace education. Dr. Reardon is one of the pioneers of peace education in the United States.

• The University of Hawaii Institute for Peace, Honolulu, Hawaii (Betty Jacob, Project Director): Our one-year institutional grant of $30,000 will give partial support to two projects: the Asian-Pacific

Dialogue and the Human Rights Commission in the South Pacific. The Asian-Pacific Dialogue is a continuing research seminar for scholars and experts from market, nonmarket, and mixed economies in the Asian-Pacific region studying international peace and security issues facing that region. Support under the grant for the Human Rights Commission in the South Pacific will allow a University of Hawaii law professor to work with law students, lawyers, and others in the Pacific Islands which are affiliated with the United States to assist in the development at the nongovernmental level of a Human Rights Charter and Commission for the Pacific region.

FUTURE PRIORITIES AND STATUS

Senator PELL: What should be the priorities of the Institute over the next few years? What should the status of the Institute be in ten years?

Chairman MOORE: We have established our institutional and programmatic priorities on the basis of the principles which I discussed in my prepared statement: independence, integrity, intellectual excellence, nonpartisanship, and tradition. On the institutional side, we have put in place a small but efficient staff and a sound administrative structure. Public funds have been carefully allocated and monitored.

In the next few years, we intend to concentrate on strengthening the Institute's managerial capabilities for setting program priorities and for allocating resources in support of those priorities; on further refining our grant review procedures and establishing fair and effective procedures for

our fellowship program; on continuing to develop systems for assuring high standards of performance in all of our program areas; and on strengthening staff capabilities to design, conduct, and evaluate the Institute's own projects.

On the program side, we have launched all of our three major types of activities: grants, fellowships, and in-house projects. Each needs to be expanded, retaining a reasonable balance among the three components. To do so will require a significant increase in the level of funding thus far made available by the Congress. Other program priorities include: (a) developing comprehensive public outreach activities, which emphasize civic education and rest heavily on cooperative activities with the nation's schools; mass media, in particular public television; unions and commerce; colleges and universities; professional, scientific, and public service organizations; (b) developing clearinghouse and information systems which will enable the Institute to become a major center of the growing international network of research, training, and education in the peace and conflict management field; (c) launching training programs in negotiating skills in cooperation with other institutions, such as the Foreign Service Institute of the Department of State; (d) expanding our grant program in the direction of larger, institution-building objectives; and (e) establishing the Jennings Randolph Program for International Peace as a home of excellence boasting an impressive and devoted alumni of scholars and practitioners representing careers at many stages of development, the nationals of many countries, and a devotion to the principles of a peaceful world for which the Institute was established.

In ten years, the Institute should be a permanent part of the national and international scene. It should be widely recognized at home and abroad as a national center of excellent in its field, a sponsor of research and education programs which push outward the frontiers of knowledge and provide practical insights to enhance the work of diplomats and other international peacemakers. The Institute should continue its independent corporate status and be funded primarily from federal appropriations. It should also be authorized to accept private donations, but in amounts and in a fashion which will protect the Institute's independence and ensure its public accountability. One important national treasure which we look to as a model is the Smithsonian Institution and its Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars. The care with which it is administered and the pride that we as a people take in it stand as inspirations for those who seek to lead the United States Institute of Peace down a parallel path..

PUBLIC AWARENESS

Senator PELL: What should be done to promote public awareness of the Institute?

Chairman MOORE: Public awareness of the Institute is being promoted primarily by (a) program activities, (b) Board, staff and congressional outreach efforts, and (c) supportive efforts of private sector nonprofit organizations such as the National Peace Institute Foundation and the National Education Association.

The following program activities of the Institute will contribute to a growing public awareness:

- In association with the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars, South Carolina Educational Television (SCETV), and the Southern Educational Communications Association (SECA), the Institute funded and produced "Face to Face," an authoritative and illuminating educational television documentary evaluating the history of U.S.-Soviet summitry. The hosts are Professor Allen Weinstein (a member of the Institute's Board, University Professor of History at Boston University, and president of the Center for Democracy) and Dr. James Billington (Librarian of Congress and former director of the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars). "Face to Face" has been broadcast on SCETV and will be widely shown across the country in the next few weeks prior to the Reagan-Gorbachev summit meeting in December. The program, which is being distributed by SECA, is a pilot for a series on U.S.-Soviet relations and a central component of a larger educational package which will be made available widely for classroom and adult education usage.

- The Institute's first annual National Peace Essay Contest is now underway in collaboration with the National Association of Secondary School Principals. This year the theme is peace and human rights using a part of the Helsinki Accords as a basic text. Promotional materials have been sent to every public and private high school in the United States and territories plus American

dependent schools abroad. Winners will be selected and publicized in each state as well as nationally.

- More than 10,000 sets of materials on the Institute's Grants Program have been distributed, primarily to colleges, universities and other scholarly centers in the United States. The steadily increasing volume of grant applications (the monthly application rate has recently doubled) demonstrates widespread and growing interest.

- Application and nomination materials for the three types of fellowships under the Jennings Randolph Program for International Peace will be sent in December to some 4,500 individuals and organizations in the U.S. and abroad who have requested information on the Program or are potentially interested. Further outreach will continue in subsequent mailings.

Board, staff and Congressional outreach efforts have already begun to contribute to public awareness. Speeches, local and national media interviews and other coverage, the initial White House and Congressional ceremonies, and distribution of over 10,000 copies of the Biennial Report (to, among others, all U.S. college and university presidents and all U.S. Embassies abroad) all help. We have distributed the first in a series of "Up-Date Bulletins" on our activities, and the first issue of a more extensive Newsletter will go out in January. It is our expectation that it will, both in its substance and its reporting on progress of the Institute,

significantly augment public understanding of and contact with the Institute.

Finally, a growing number of independent private organizations are becoming informed about the Peace Institute and, in turn, making their constituents aware of its establishment, purpose and programs. Some, such as the National Education Association, the Church of the Brethren, and the National Peace Institute Foundation, have provided testimony before Congress. The National Peace Institute Foundation in addition carries on through its regional volunteer affiliates an active program of information about the progress and activities of the Institute, reaching many of the people who worked for the seablishment of the Institute and many others who are especially interested in its development.

DEFINITION OF PEACE

Senator PELL: How would you define peace?

Ambassador LEWIS: Philosophers have wrestled with this question for thousands of years. The traditional definition would be the absence of war or violent conflict between nations or peoples. A broader definition would include, in addition, the achievement of domestic and international harmony, economic well-being, social justice and cooperative political systems which permit the widest possible enjoyment of personal freedom by individual citizens. A useful working definition for our purposes at the Institute might focus on a system of international order within which nations and groups of citizens within nations are able to pursue their

individual interests competitively or cooperatively without recourse to violence.

ENHANCING PERCEPTIONS OF UNITED STATES COMMITMENT TO PEACE

Senator PELL: How can the Institute of Peace contribute most effectively to the United States efforts to promote international peace?

Ambassador LEWIS: All of the Institute's programs in the fields of research, scholarship and public education should enhance a broader understanding among Americans of the obstacles to the achievement of more peaceful relations among the nations of the world, and of the more promising methods for overcoming some of those obstacles. Sponsorship of public television programs, such as the Institute's just completed pilot production on the history of U.S.-Soviet summit meetings, can provide an especially effective vehicle for carrying out our public information mandate.

With respect to the role of the United States government, the Institute can provide a useful interface between the world of scholarship and the world of diplomatic practice. For example, Institute-sponsored projects can translate the intellectual product of academic research in methods of mediation and conflict resolution into practical vehicles for training diplomats, government officials, and other diplomatic practitioners which will enable them better to deal with international disputes in a productive fashion. The Institute can also help to inform policymakers about some of

the lessons available from both successful and unsuccessful efforts to resolve past and present international disputes.

U.S. AND FOREIGN PERCEPTIONS OF INSTITUTE

Senator PELL: How can the Institute enhance perceptions at home and abroad that the United States is committed to the creation of international peace?

Ambassador LEWIS: I believe that "perceptions ... that the United States is committed to the creation of international peace" at any particular time are heavily influenced by public attitudes toward the overall foreign policies being pursued by the Government and the incumbent President at the moment. These attitudes are in part, of course, the product of individual and group life experience. However, the public acquires much of its assessment of U.S. international behaviour as a result of the way it is interpreted by the mass media and by opinion leaders. Interpersonal relations among Americans and persons from other nations also contribute to enhance or damage these perceptions..

Official programs such as the Peace Corps, the Fulbright Program, the United States Information Agency, and, now, the United States Institute of Peace, to the extent they are favorably known, can help to soften negative prejudices and enhance positive feelings, thereby favorably influencing predispositions and, ultimately, perceptions. This applies to both domestic and foreign audiences.

The United States Institute of Peace, through its educational and information activities, can also contribute to the capacity of individuals and groups "at home and abroad" to gain a more realistic appreciation of the problems in achieving and preserving peace, thereby deepening understanding of U.S. foreign policy and the domestic and international environment in which it must operate.

ELEMENTARY AND SECONDARY SCHOOL EDUCATION

Senator PELL: What should the Institute be doing to further education in peace-related fields in elementary and secondary schools?

Ambassador LEWIS: The Institute has plans to approach the critically important matter of peace-related education on the precollegiate level in several ways in the near future. Most immediately, we will develop and continue direct contact with the schools through our National Peace Essay Contest for high school students, an annual event. It is our hope that students, teachers, and administrators who are interested in issues of international peace or who seek guidance regarding peace education will come to regard the Institute as a concerned and accessible resource. Inasmuch as the contest will pose serious questions related to international peace in a pedagogically skilled way, year-in and year-out, it will be a teaching device, both for the students who take part and those who read their essays in high school publications.

Second, we intend to provide peace-related educators with guidance in the design and use of precollegiate curricula and curricular materials. The

Institute will soon launch its Curriculum Advisory Project. Under this program, a blue-ribbon panel of educators and international affairs experts will conduct a thorough-going review and analysis of peace education on the precollegiate level to determine what needs exist and what opportunities may be exploited. By the end of 1988, the panel will have generated a substantial report for publication that will serve as a major guide for all educators on the precollegiate level as well as those who support them in college-level teacher training.

The panel of the Curriculum Advisory Project will also advise the Institute on other sorts of work it might do in this area in the future. One outcome may be design and production of precollegiate curricula and curricular materials by the Institute itself. In addition, the panel will advise the Institute on how to make its grantmaking most effective in this area. Although an important portion of our grants budget in the foreseeable future will be devoted to the support of peace-related education, we will not be able to meet more than a small percentage of the requests we receive. Peace education is being carried out on all levels by a wide variety of practitioners — from individual teachers in small, rural schools to administrators of state-mandated programs to developers of curricula for national distribution. The Institute must use its grants program as much to give guidance by example and consultation as it does to provide effective support where it is most needed. The direction provided by Curriculum Advisory Project will allow us to proceed in the most rational and expeditous manner.

Senator MATSUNAGA. Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman. It certainly is good news that you have brought us and one which gives me, especially, great encouragement to work for the renewal of the Act next year. And we will be happy now to hear from you, Ambassador Lewis.

Mr. LEWIS. Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman.

I have been for the last 31 years a laborer in the vineyard of American diplomacy, moving from some very modest assignments to some very exciting and responsible ones. And the last decade of my career was involved with efforts to bring peace to the Middle East between Arabs and Israelis.

There was obviously more to my job as Ambassador to Israel than that and there was more than that to my job when I was Assistant Secretary of State in the Ford Administration for International Organization, and United Nations Affairs. But this question of how the United States can make a crucial contribution to bringing peace between two sets of peoples, with both of which we have strong ties, has dominated my professional and personal life for the last 15 years.

Therefore, it was with true excitement that I responded to an invitation to become the chief executive officer, under the guidance of this Board of Directors, for a new and creative institution that you played such a central role in providing for the American people.

It is a tiny new plant. It has really been operating a year and a half and a great deal has been achieved in that first year and a half, as Chairman Moore has suggested and as I think the biennial report well documents. And my predecessor, Bob Turner, its first president, deserves, I think, the gratitude of his nation and of all of you who had a hand in creating this piece of legislation for laying a sound administrative base for it. I find that it does have such a base, and that these principles of integrity and strength and bipartisanship, ethical standards that Chairman Moore has outlined, have been followed remarkably well in its first months and years. It will certainly be my determination to keep to that standard so long as I'm associated with the Institute.

But any new institution needs a vision, and what I think is particularly challenging for me and for all of us on the staff is that the law which we are trying to implement provides that vision. It is a vision that goes back a long way in America's historical tradition. This business of trying to help resolve conflicts—not just conflicts we are parties to but conflicts among our friends or near-friends—is a tradition that goes far back in American history.

I was thinking on the way over here this afternoon that the Institute of Peace has, in a sense, two intellectual forebears that are not always mentioned in the material I have read about the Institute so far. A great Republican President, Theodore Roosevelt, who won the Nobel Peace Prize in 1905 for helping two other countries make peace—Japan and Russia—in the Treaty of Portsmouth, and in a way a forerunner for the role that President Carter played in bringing Israel and Egypt together at Camp David; and then, of course, President Wilson's historic role in dedicating the United States, not just to resolving a conflict we were party to, but trying

to create a new kind of world and a new set of relationships within that world.

Roosevelt and Wilson, along with many, others of our leaders have felt a kind of special responsibility as Americans for bringing something to this problem of containing international conflict that goes beyond the narrow American interest which is certainly often there.

I do not think there is any other country, Mr. Chairman, that I can think of in the world that takes as part of its own national responsibility and heritage to try to help other countries come to agreement between each other and avoid fighting. That is, I think, a noble enterprise, not one we always are able to succeed in, but one which is so much in consonance with our history and our Founding Fathers' vision for this nation's special role in the world that an Institute of Peace that stems from that tradition cannot help but have an inspiring vision.

I think about, for example, the fact that in recent years American statesmen, Secretaries of State, Presidents, have been in the middle of trying to resolve conflicts between Arabs and Israelis, between Argentines and British over the Falklands, between British and Africans in Southern Rhodesia, between South Africans and Angolans over Namibia; the list goes on and on. As I had the privilege to work in one of those efforts—the Camp David process—and to work closely with our leaders who mediated that peace, I became very intimately aware that the institutions we have today—the United Nations and our own Department of State and our own diplomatic establishment—while they have a lot to contribute, need a lot of help.

One kind of help they need in order to do this task more effectively in the future is some intellectual help, some better research and scholarship on the lessons of both successes and failures. We have had a lot of experience now with peace making, failed and successful. There are a number of efforts going on around the United States to draw some of those lessons into a coherent body of knowledge. But really only a fraction of the work that needs doing is so far going on, and what work is going on is very rarely well known to our diplomats themselves, who do not get much training in the actual business of peace making though they may be called on to try to perform it many times in their careers.

So I see one of the important priorities for the Institute—and I hope that you and those who support it would agree—one priority among others is to enable this new national institution to support in a systematic way the drawing of conclusions about where our diplomacy works and does not work; what makes it succeed and what makes it fail; how negotiating techniques are best supplied in third-party negotiating situations; drawing on academic research of a variety of sorts going on today; supporting new kinds of inquiries in cooperation with the Department of State and other agencies of our Government; and then translating the lessons into training programs better adapted for the needs of our diplomacy in the years that lie ahead.

Closely associated with that is a project the Institute has already launched but has not yet gotten far off the ground: to look at some of the capabilities of the United Nations system to cooperate with

81-191 - 0 - 1988 - 3

us and other peace loving nations in this same endeavor, for the U.N. is a great dream, only imperfectly realized, but one which certainly is highly relevant to the purpose of this Institute.

One of the witnesses to appear before you later this afternoon—John Baker, representing the Atlantic Council—will speak about a project which the Institute has already financed in cooperation with the Council. It deals with the simulation of certain kinds of international processes in order to draw conclusions and to teach how best to use those processes in future crisis. That is only one of many examples.

But this whole field of looking at the recent past and the present, at our experience, and translating it into practical lessons for those who have to carry out the nation's will in the peace-making business is one priority that I hope to devote a lot of attention to in the months ahead.

As far as my own priorities are concerned, they also, obviously, focus very heavily on the question that Chairman Moore has cited, something that I have been struck with in my 6 days now in office. We have an enormous reservoir of interest in this nation in the work of the Institute. Citizen involvement, intellectually and emotionally, is something that Government agencies should welcome and only too rarely in the State Department were we ever able to find it.

So, I for one feel that it is extremely high on our list to reach out to as many organizations of all sorts that have an interest in our work, to find ways to cooperate with them, to engage them in the dialogue and the public education effort, and to make as much use as we can, as a small agency, of the tremendous vitality and variety of strengths that our society provides in this field.

Third, I want also to see if we cannot reach out to our sister agencies in other countries working in this same area. There are institutes of peace similar to ours in many respects in perhaps a dozen countries around the world—some fairly well established, some quite new. Already we have heard from some of them. They would like to work with us, find areas of mutual cooperation and interest. We want to pursue those avenues, for surely this is not just an American concern. It is a concern of international dimensions, looking at the causes of war and the methods for containing it.

And then finally my priority, Mr. Chairman, as I suppose is natural, will be to try to build on the strong administrative base already created, bring in some additional talented people to help carry out the broad mandate that the Congress and the Board have given the staff, to get us settled in our new quarters on M Street which we should be moving into in mid-December, to seek the kind of financial support from the Congress and the Appropriations Committees necessary to do the job that Congress has given us, and to build the kind of enduring professional, serious and persistent approach towards this task that will make the vision realizable and real to all of you who laid it out for us.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Senator MATSUNAGA. Thank you very much, Ambassador Lewis. I agree fully with Chairman Moore that we are indeed fortunate

that you have accepted to serve as President of the Institute, and congratulations.

Mr. Turner, did you have anything to add?

Mr. TURNER. Mr. Chairman, thank you. I have just a very brief statement, thank you.

First, it is a great pleasure to be here this afternoon. I want to especially express my appreciation to you and to members of your staff—especially Elma Henderson—for the tremendous help and support they have given us over these past almost two years. Without your support we would not have made it as far as we have.

Coming to the Institute, I came from a family that has had an unusual connection, perhaps, with America's wars. I say that with some irony. My grandfather was born during the middle of the Civil War, my father during World War I. He served as a medical officer in World War II, and I remember recently reading a letter he wrote his mother saying that he did not like the war but that he was determined to stay as long as was necessary to do the job right because he was determined that his son—my older brother, this was before I was born—would never have to go through the same experience.

And yet my brother and I both served in Vietnam, and indeed you and I have a shared association of sorts. My first Army assignment was as a recon platoon leader for the 100th Battalion 442nd Infantry, the very distinguished unit that you served in during World War II that was recalled during the Vietnam period, and from there I went to serve twice in Vietnam.

So I think you and I come to this meeting today with a particular understanding of the horror of war and of the need of this nation to do everything we can to promote peace. And it has, perhaps because of that realization, been a tremendous honor for me to serve as the first President of the Institute of Peace. It has been an experience I will never forget; it is an honor that I will never surpass; and I am grateful to the Chairman and to the members of the Board for having given me this opportunity.

Picking up on something the Chairman has said, I would emphasize that we have honestly tried, and I think we have succeeded——

Senator MATSUNAGA. Before you go further, now I know the reason why you made such a good President. You served in the 100th Battalion 442nd.

Mr. TURNER. That, too, Mr. Chairman, was an experience I would not trade for anything. It was a wonderful group of men.

We tried very hard, Mr. Chairman. Indeed our highest objective has been to conduct the business of the Institute in accordance with the highest ethical and professional standards. I am very proud of the record that we have established in this period.

The staff that we put together, which now numbers 14 and which originally numbered three, is without question the best group of men and women it has ever been my pleasure to work with and I shall miss them dearly.

I think if I were going to leave any words of guidance or warning or whatever as I do leave, it would be this, that above all this Institute must never be allowed to become partisan, political or interventionist. I think something we have tried very hard to do, we

have brought together people of a wide range of political viewpoints.

Indeed, I think we have benefitted from the strength of diversity, but I think it is very important that you in your oversight role guard against this Institute ever becoming ideological or political or partisan or becoming directly involved in ongoing international conflicts.

I would only close by expressing my gratitude to Ambassador Sam Lewis. Leaving this job—although it was my choice—is going to be a very difficult thing. I have enjoyed working with the Institute, with the supporters we have had up here, but the one thing that is going to make it a great pleasure is knowing that Sam Lewis will be at the helm and that under his fine leadership the Institute will continue to grow and to prosper.

I would thank you for your past support and I would commend you for, I know, the strong support you and your colleagues are going to give to the Institute in the future. That completes my statement.

Senator MATSUNAGA. Thank you very much, Mr. Turner, and I want to congratulate you for a job well done.

Mr. TURNER. Thank you, Senator.

Senator MATSUNAGA. You know, I have questions here, and some of the staff has left questions, but because of the time limitation and because I have other appointments and like to listen to every member of the succeeding panels, we will submit to you in writing questions for you to respond, which responses will appear in the record as though asked at the hearing.

So I want to thank you, Mr. Chairman, Mr. Ambassador, Mr. Turner, for your most informative testimonies today. Thank you very much.

Our next panel of witnesses consists of Mr. Joseph V. Montville, Research Director of the Center for the Study of Foreign Affairs, Foreign Service Institute, U.S. Department of State in Washington; Mr. John A. Baker, Director of Education, Atlantic Council of the United States, Washington, D.C.; and Mr. Gene Sharp, President of the Albert Einstein Institute, Cambridge, Massachusetts.

They represent grantees of the U.S. Institute of Peace. We would be happy to hear from you, Mr. Montville.

STATEMENTS OF JOSEPH V. MONTVILLE, RESEARCH DIRECTOR, CENTER FOR THE STUDY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS, FOREIGN SERVICE INSTITUTE, U.S. DEPARTMENT OF STATE, WASHINGTON, DC; JOHN A BAKER, DIRECTOR OF EDUCATION, ATLANTIC COUNCIL OF THE UNITED STATES, WASHINGTON, DC; AND GENE SHARP, PRESIDENT, ALBERT EINSTEIN INSTITUTE, CAMBRIDGE, MA

Mr. MONTVILLE. Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman. I do not have a prepared statement for the record but I will submit one in time to be incorporated in the record of the hearing.

Senator MATSUNAGA. Fine. Without objection it will be so recorded.

Mr. MONTVILLE. Thank you.

I note that there is a certain amount of historic irony that in this first biennial oversight hearing that the first grantee witness is a representative of the Department of State's Foreign Service Institute, which was not in the lead in the support for the establishment of the U.S. Institute of Peace.

But today I can assure you that the State Department, the Foreign Service Institute and the Center for the Study of Foreign Affairs, which I represent, are very enthusiastic supporters of the Institute and are very pleased to be able to collaborate with it.

Although I do not know the history of the other grantees, I think that the Center in particular has had a very close collaboration with the Institute in the preparation for the grant on Conflict and Peacemaking in Multi-Ethnic Societies which we received and which we planned in quite a bit of detail with officers of the U.S. Institute of Peace. So it was a genuine partnership between the Institute and the Department of State.

I think certainly the Center that I represent and I in my capacity as research director believe very strongly that the business of research in conflict resolution and peace research is part and parcel of the national security responsibility of this country, and the collaboration between the Peace Institute and the State Department is a natural collaboration.

I think that conflict resolution research is right for the State Department, I think it is right for the Central Intelligence Agency, and I think it is right for the Department of Defense and all the other components of the national security establishment of this Government.

I might just mention in this brief presentation that I have had discussions on the concept of conflict resolution research and peace building theory with colleagues in the Defense Department, very recently with a uniformed officer who is on the staff of the Joint Chiefs of Staff. He responded enthusiastically not only for himself but for the policy and plans people in the Defense Department and his colleagues in support of the Joint Chiefs for some very practical reasons. He pointed out that the Joint Chiefs are responsible for the use of military resources of this country in the national defense. There are many responsibilities laid on the Joint Chiefs and they want to make the best and most efficient use of these resources. They think the best and most efficient use comes from our country anticipating conflict problems in parts of the world where our national security is involved and using as much intellect and brain power very early on in a situation so that peaceful and nonviolent solutions to a conflict situation could be set in train. The U.S. could use its good offices and best diplomatic resources so that a situation would not get out of control wherein the Joint Chiefs would be forced to see just how our military resources might have to be set aside or put into use.

So it is a very practical kind of business, conflict resolution and peace building, and I think the alliance between the U.S. Institute of Peace and its research resources and its goals and agencies of this Government, and certainly other governments, as Ambassador Lewis and Chairman Moore pointed out, make a lot of good practical sense. There is nothing pie-in-the-sky or idealistic about that.

I myself have a vision of the U.S. Institute of Peace as something like the National Institutes of Health that have their own in-house research program and support research outside among specialists around the country and then feed the results of this work to their natural consumers. I think that national security agencies and organizations of this Government and other governments are the natural consumers of conflict resolution research and that is why we are pleased to be part of that effort in the early years of the Institute.

In addition to that practical approach towards doing the business of peace building as part of the Government, the Center for the Study of Foreign Affairs, which I represent, also believes very strongly in making the fruit of its research—not only the collaboration with the Peace Institute, but its own program of research, conferences, workshops—widely available to the American public and interested countries abroad.

We have a publication program that makes our work available to colleges and universities and research institutes around the country, and we have a particular interest in the art and science of negotiation, which Ambassador Lewis knows about. We see ourselves as the interface between those with practical responsibilities with policy making and managing U.S. security interests and the academic and popular organizations, non-Governmental organizations in this country which are interested in conflict resolution.

I can refer briefly—I know time is short—to the particular project for which we received our grant. I am very proud of it. It is entitled Conflict and Peacemaking in Multi-Ethnic Societies.

It has been clear to many students of international conflict that ethnic and sectarian conflict has been a major component of such conflict. Therefore it seemed to make a lot of sense to us, and it did to the U.S. Institute of Peace, to undertake a major research effort that would be both a theoretical review of the experience of ethnic conflict of the best academics we could reach, and then do some specific case studies so that we could get as much practical guidance from cases where conflicts were still hot and where conflicts had been relatively well managed, for advice on the very practical business of institution building.

So in the process we, not unlike the Peace Institute, acquired the services of academics and professionals in a wide variety of disciplines, not only political science and history, but sociology, anthropology—we had a psychoanalyst who specializes in the psychodynamics of ethnic and sectarian conflict—and academics who had devoted a good part of their career toward the business of understanding mechanisms for managing inevitable conflict between majorities and minorities in various political units, through power sharing, for instance.

One outstanding academic was a political scientist and also a professor of law who has both specialized in a variety of specific ethnic and sectarian conflict situations and been a major contributor to, as I said before, nuts and bolts institution building; how to use an electoral system; how to use proportional representation; language policy to meet the basic identity needs of the various minorities in a situation which feel otherwise at a disadvantage.

And then the hot countries that we devoted a good deal of attention to were, sadly, justified as we read the news these days about the bombings in Northern Ireland and Sri Lanka. Northern Ireland and Sri Lanka were two of our selections for special attention, as was the Sudan, which has been enduring a civil war between the north and south for over 17 years now.

But we also looked at the institution building, the examples of political leadership and psychological sensitivity that has been shown in Belgium and Canada, in dealing with religious and linguistic differences, and in the south Tyrol, we examined the statesmanship shown by Austria and Italy after World War II. And in Asia, how Malaysia, which is a very complex country with a complex history and a good deal of insurgency, managed to hammer together political compromises that met the basic needs of the pluralistic communities there; how Pakistan has dealt with various tribal groups that have strong identity, and how India, which is constantly struggling with the problem of how to accommodate the needs of its minorities, was successful in the Assam settlement.

In Africa, after looking at the difficult problem of the Sudan, we examined Nigeria, which also suffered and had a terrible civil war. We learned from that case study that by using federation mechanisms and organizing smaller units of administrative authority, the variety of clashing interests from different tribes and ethnic groups could be managed.

And finally, the examples from Zimbabwe and the settlement that led to Zimbabwe independence and the democratic tradition, at least up to now, in Kenya.

The last part of the five days of conferencing we had ended with presentations by something we called a "Greek choir," four wise men who drew conclusions from the very detailed presentations we had arranged and tried to point out new directions for research as well as practical conclusions, not only for academic students of the problem of conflict resolution but for diplomats and foreign affairs professionals who can benefit from the previous experience of other countries in negotiating agreements and building institutions in a way that could be of benefit to the future.

So, in sum, we are very proud of the work that has been done. Some of the papers are still coming in. We think that the publication that is going to result from this will be the best in its field. We think that the Peace Institute is going to be proud of it, and I think ultimately that the Congress is going to be proud that we were able to work this way and produce a very solid piece of work.

Thank you.

[The prepared statement of Mr. Montville follows:]

United States Department of State
Foreign Service Institute
1400 Key Boulevard
Arlington, Virginia 22209

Testimony of

Joseph V. Montville

Research Director

Center for the Study of Foreign affairs

Foreign Service Institute

Department of State

before the

Committee on Labor and Human Resources

and the

Committee on Foreign Relations

United States Senate

November 10, 1987

Mr. Chairman, I am testifying today as the officer at the Center for the Study of Foreign Affairs (CSFA) responsible for the management of United States Institute of Peace grant No. USIP-021 on the subject of "Conflict and Peacemaking in Multi-Ethnic Societies." And while it is a matter of record that the Department of State was less than enthusiastic about the establishment of a United States Institute of Peace, I can assure the committees today that the Center for the Study of Foreign Affairs is a proud collaborator with the Institute in the design and execution of our research project. Former President Robert Turner and Director of Grants Program Kenneth Jensen worked with CSFA Director Hans Binnendijk and me in the design of our research, which included four and a half days of plenary symposia and one half day workshop in February and May of this year. And Chairman John Norton Moore and President Turner formally opened the public symposia. (I have attached copies of the symposia programs for the printed record of this hearing.)

Mr. Chairman, we at the Center for the Study of Foreign Affairs have been very comfortable in our partnership with the United States Institute of Peace because we believe that conflict resolution and peace research are part and parcel of the American national security agenda. And we believe that such research is right not only for the Department of State but also for the Central Intelligence Agency and the Department of Defense. Indeed, it is right for all the components of the official United States foreign affairs community.

If I may substantiate this point on the basis of personal experience, I would like to report on recent conversations I have had with a colleague who is a major in the United States Army, a psycholigist and a member of the Pentagon staff supporting the Joint Chiefs of Staff. After describing to him some ideas about conflict resolution research and hypothetical strategies for resolving or easing conflict and violence in long standing ethnic and sectarian disputes like Northern Ireland, South Africa, Cyprus and Sri Lanka, he said he was sure the JCS and other elements of the Defense Department would be interested and supportive.

My colleague pointed out a simple, structural fact of life for the JCS, namely that it is the body responsible for managing the military resources available for defending the U.S. national interest throughout the world. These resources are necessarily finite. Therefore, the more that the United States can develop low cost problem-solving and conflict resolution techniques for application as soon as a potential security crisis occurs, the less the Defense Department will have to worry about scarcity of military resources if the crisis grows and gets out of hand.

It follows, then, that the scholarly study of the genesis of violent political conflict and the ways mankind has organized itself throughout history to minimize violence and build institutions to assure peace, stability and economic development, which is one way to see the task of the United States Institute of Peace, is a basic interest of any government. I personally see the United States Institute of Peace becoming somewhat like the National Institutes of Health, conducting its own in-house peace research and supporting outside academic and other research specialists and then communicating its findings to its natural consumers: the Congress, the American national security community, similar national and international authorities around the world, academia and the shapers of public opinion

For its part, the Center for the Study of Foreign Affairs has made conflict resolution research and the art of negotiation a major activity in its program. Our active agenda of symposia, workshops and diplomatic simulations has brought together academic specialists, other professionals and current and retired government foreign affairs officials to pool the insights of research and of practical experience on the ground. The Center's project on "Conflict and Peacemaking in Multi-Ethnic Societies," which has been funded by the United States Institute of Peace, is an example with which we are particularly pleased.

The effort, which will end up in a book of some 32 chapters, was divided into three parts. The first was a review of the phenomenon of ethnic conflict (in which we also include religious and linguistic contentiousness) in historic perspective, in the West and in traditional societies. We also examined the economic, social, cultural and, drawing on new, original research, the psychological dynamics of ethnic conflict, including the psychological tasks of conflict resolution. Finally, we analyzed power-sharing and other political/institutional approaches to conflict management like federalism, various forms of decentralization, adaptive electoral systems and forms of cultural autonomy. This is the sort of discussion that is being actively pursued, for example, inside and outside of South Africa today.

The second part of the study is composed of case studies built around three "hot" ethnic conflict situations: Northern Ireland, Sri Lanka and the Sudan. Full mornings of the May symposia were devoted to analysis of the historic background and contemporary characteristics of the conflicts in these countries and discussion of possible formulas for their resolution. There were attempts to see what sort of constructive lessons could be drawn from the relatively successful experiences in ethnic conflict management in culturally similar countries. In the afternoons of the case studies, we examined Belgium, Canada and the South Tyrol for Northern Ireland; Malaysia, Pakistan and India's Assam settlement for Sri Lanka; and Nigeria, Kenya and Zimbabwe for the Sudan.

The third part of the project was devoted to the drawing of integrated conclusions from the case studies and other examples world-wide on the types and forms of political structures and devices which could contain, disperse and/or eventually eliminate the incidence of violence in multi-ethnic states. It also considered the question of systemic contributions to ethnic violence from economic depression or overstimulation. There was then a fresh look at power-sharing approaches and an assessment of differing pre-negotiation and negotiating strategies in the resolution of multi-ethnic conflict. And finally, there was a recapitulation of the inadequately studied but crucial question of the psychological tasks of ethnic conflict resolution.

We are aiming for a March, 1988 publication date of the resulting book to be entitled, Conflict and Peacemaking in Multi-Ethnic Societies. The work will be clearly identified as a collaborative effort of the Center for the Study of Foreign Affairs and the United States Institute of Peace. And, Mr. Chairman, we believe the Congress and the American people will share our pride in the product.

Senator MATSUNAGA. Thank you very much, Mr. Montville.

We will be happy now to hear from you, Mr. Baker.

Mr. BAKER. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I am director of the education program of the Atlantic Council. I retired from the Foreign Service in 1986.

The Council is a nonprofit public interest organization founded in 1962. Its principal activities are international policy studies and international education programs. It is politically nonpartisan and strives to be sure that its working groups and major committees are broadly representative of the major political trends in the nation.

The Council's education program derived from a conviction by the founder of the organization, the late Ambassador Theodore Achilles. He felt that it was important that the generation of young leaders arriving at or preparing for positions of leadership in the United States and other developed democracies understand the origins, rationale and underlying values of the institutions which have preserved peace since the end of World War II.

Those of us who experienced World War II and saw the emergence of the institutions of political, economic and defense cooperation which have secured democratic values in the four decades since then, have perhaps too readily assumed that this set of institutions and its relationship to our fundamental political values is as well understood by our successors as it is by ourselves.

The purpose of our education program is to contribute to a better understanding of alliance relationships and institutions by what we term the "Successor Generation" both in the United States and other nations maintaining or striving toward democratic values.

It is our belief that if we wish to maintain international peace in a manner which preserves and enhances the values basic to our political and economic system, careful nurturing of our alliance relationships must have high priority. This is especially true in a period in which the relative power of the United States, particularly the economic component of that power, compared with its principle European and Pacific allies, is declining.

Our program is therefore designed to build and nurture a series of networks of educators, young leaders in business and the professions, university professors and secondary school teachers in the United States and in Europe and in the Pacific Basin. These are networks of people who understand that the fundamental rationale for alliance relationships resides in shared values. They recognize that the preservation of these values, without resort to war, lies in the successful nurturing of those relationships across the spectrum of jointly undertaken political, economic, cultural and defense activities and programs. They come to realize that their own participation in the examination of current security and economic issues contributes not only to better intellectual understanding, but in an international context can also develop lasting and valuable personal contacts across boundaries vital to living alliance relationships.

The project for which we sought support from the U.S. Institute for Peace was developed in this context. It came out of my conviction, solidified while serving on the faculty of the National Defense University, that realistic simulation of national security or alliance decisionmaking is an effective educational methodology which can

be usefully employed with several of our national and international networks.

Although simulation is often perceived as "war gaming," it is equally possible—as demonstrated by a high-level simulation aired by ABC TV several years ago—to use it to show how national leaders must act with care and deliberation in times of crisis to preserve peace. Simulation of crisis management decision making is a way of saying: "Peace is not just a matter of demonstrating the desire for peace, nor is it a matter of utopian renunciation of weapons. It is an objective which can be achieved and maintained by a thorough understanding of national, allied, and adversary intentions and capabilities, and a thoughtful deployment of assets in a manner which is firm but unprovocative."

We believe good simulations can be replicated, but that the best replication is through developing advocates of simulation through its compelling utilizations.

The U.S. Institute for Peace understood the program we were attempting to develop. Although we would have preferred to have had a larger program—our original July 1986 proposal was for $105,000—we were glad to get a sufficient response to permit us to begin. In January 1987, at the Institute's suggestion, we recast our original grant proposal at the pilot program level of $35,000 and the Institute responded in March with a grant of $20,000 condition on our raising $15,000 elsewhere.

This we did by mid-April. We have now conducted two successful simulations: one for 25 of our Academic Associates and Councillors, university professors and professional people; and one for a group of student leaders from NATO nations. We are preparing further simulations and are planning to make this methodology a key part of the April 1988 annual meeting of education program directors of the Atlantic Councils and Committees in the Allied Nations.

Our experience with the Institute has been about what one would anticipate with a new grant-giving institution. Its board had to set priorities and decide the general range of its grants in the light of available grant monies before it could give a clear signal to grant applicants. This process appeared to us to take about four months—not an unusual or unreasonable period of time. Once that shake-down period was passed, the processing of grants and decision-making appeared to move at a speed which, to us, compared very favorably to other grant-making institutions.

The outcome of the Institute's overall decision-making appears to us appropriate to its purpose. It has what appears to be a good mix of established institutions and new players among its grantees. The nature of its projects, based on the brief descriptions in the annual report, appears sufficiently varied so that it covers a multitude of approaches to the problem of achieving and maintaining peace. Among the grantees are a substantial number of institutions and individuals who I consider eminently qualified to make a serious contribution in this area. The Atlantic Council is privileged to be in their company.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Senator MATSUNAGA. Thank you very much, Mr. Baker.

Now we would be happy to hear from you, Mr. Sharp.

Mr. SHARP. Thank you very much, Senator.

I have presented some written testimony which I will summarize and request that the full text be inserted into the record.

Senator MATSUNAGA. Your written statement will appear as though presented in full in the record without objection.

Mr. SHARP. Thank you.

Senator MATSUNAGA. You may proceed.

Mr. SHARP. I am representing the Albert Einstein Institution, which is the recipient of a $50,000 grant from the United States Institute of Peace for three projects relating to the use of nonviolent forms of struggle against political violence.

The first of these is the completion of a major annotated bibliography of literature on nonviolent struggle, especially historical cases, and two of the researchers on that project happen to be in Washington and in the room today because they have been doing some work at the Library of Congress in completing that work.

The second project is the preparation of a research agenda on the nature and potential of these nonviolent forms of struggle for planning investigations during the next decade.

Finally, there will be a book edited consisting of new scholarly analyses, and historical case studies, based on materials presented over a five-year period of seminars at the Harvard University Program on Nonviolent Sanctions.

The Albert Einstein Institution is a nonprofit organization or foundation which conducts and supports research, policy studies and education on the strategic uses of nonviolent methods of waging conflict in relationship to the problems of political violence, which include dictatorships, oppression, and genocide, as well as war.

It is also the major funder of the Program on Nonviolent Sanctions in Harvard University's Center for International Affairs.

Both of these bodies were established in 1983. The Harvard program, where some of the work on these projects is being done, conducts research on the nature of nonviolent sanctions and also policy oriented studies on their potential application in future conflicts.

Our experience of the Einstein Institution in dealing with the officers, staff and directors of the United States Institute of Peace has been a very positive one. They ensured the presentation of our views in the very first of the "intellectual map colloquia," which they organized; they encouraged submission of a proposal, provided assistance to us during its preparation, made their decision promptly, and finally, made a significant grant.

Of course, that is not to say that a budget-wise Board gave us everything we wanted. We originally sought support for five projects instead of three, over a two-year period instead of one, and our original request was about five times the amount we received. But nevertheless, it has been a major help to us and the work is now proceeding on the three projects.

I would particularly like to offer praise for their decision in the Jennings Randolph Program for International Peace, not only to support established scholars to do work, but to give supporting money to doctoral students working on their dissertations. In these fields students often have considerable difficulty getting adequate

financial assistance and I thought that the Board has shown considerable insight in extending the field to cover them as well.

I have in my conclusion a number of recommendations concerning the future of the United States Institute of Peace, but they might be a little more understandable if I were allowed to present some of our perspectives as we approach these problems of peace, because our work differs significantly from what is called "peace research," and certainly it also differs from the fields of "conflict resolution," international diplomacy, and negotiations.

We at the Einstein Institution acknowledge, with our military friends, that the world is a very dangerous place, that a lot of terrible things happen, that there are bloody dictatorships in power in various countries, that countries do get invaded, that people need to have means of struggling against aggression, to defend themselves to prevent genocide, to liberate themselves from oppression, and to resist other types of political violence.

But contrary to many people, we do not assume that when you get into those situations there is nothing you can do but organize a civil war or wage an international war. We note a major series of historical experiences throughout the world in which people who have had frequently little experience or guidance or training have, instead of picking up the gun or launching the bomb, have resorted to varying kinds of courageous resistance using psychological, social, economic and political forms of resistance, such as symbolic protests, social noncooperation, labor strikes, boycotts, varying kinds of political noncooperation, and intervention ranging from sit-ins to parallel governments.

There is a long series of historical examples of these. Just to mention a few of them to give the context of the reality of what struggles I am referring to, I refer to Solidarity in Poland and the resistance which has continued during and after martial law there. The Poles have, despite all kinds of disadvantages, established de facto freedom of the press by this kind of resistance. I refer also to student demonstrations for democracy in China, continuing in current struggles in Chile, resistance in South Africa, where major labor strikes have become a tool of black liberation. Other cases include nonviolent struggles in Panama, recent protests in Lithuania, and even demonstrations in Moscow, the nonviolent rising against Marcos in the Philippines, and the ouster of Baby Doc Duvalier from Haiti last year. There were earlier other kinds of anti-Nazi resistant during the second World War, particularly in Norway, the Netherlands, and in Denmark. Czechoslovak resistance in 1968–89 to the Soviet invasion and occupation, the American civil rights movement, and a whole series of other movements in various parts of the world, including Latin America, Africa, the Arab world, and Asia provide other examples.

Some of these struggles have been failures, some have produced partial successes, and some have come as close to success as any conflict ever does. It seems to me that this historical record establishes that this kind of struggle is possible even under highly unfavorable circumstances and that it sometimes can succeed.

Our suggestion is that these types of means of fighting, which are directly comparable to violence in war in many ways, need to be studied and researched to find out, if they fail, why do they fail?

If they succeed, why do they do so? What might be their principles of strategy and tactics? How could these be refined? How could a population become deliberately trained and preparations made so people could choose in serious conflicts this type of nonviolent struggle instead of civil war or international war?

It is to those purposes of investigation and study that the Einstein Institution and the Harvard Program are both devoted. Very interestingly and little known, in the past 20 years or so several Western European governments, through direct governmental work, defense ministries, military academies and so forth, have begun to study this type of resistance also. Three European countries have already added nonviolent resistance components to their national defense policies—Sweden, Switzerland and Yugoslavia.

Our view is that this field of movement sanctions is ready now for a major expansion of the work in it because a lot of ground work has been laid. We are very appreciative to the staff and Board members of the U.S. Institute of Peace for recognizing this as an important area.

In conclusion, I would like to make a very few positive recommendations for the future of the Institute. First, I recommend that it be reauthorized and as soon as is possible that its reauthorization be made permanent so it does not have to be coming back to the Congress repeatedly to ensure its existence. I think the work that has already been done established that it is doing something useful not done by any other branch of the Government.

Secondly, that it be fully funded to the amount originally requested by the Institute of $10 million. That in comparison to all kinds of other expenditures is an extremely modest sum in light of the responsibilities charged under the Act which established it. It seems to me that its administrative procedures and our experience in how it handles proposals indicate that it can use that amount of money effectively and responsibly.

Thirdly, I would suggest that in the future, with more adequate resources, it might consider supporting multi-project and multi-year studies with larger continuing grants. Sometimes one can skimp by with more limited money than one really needed, but many projects cannot be done without sufficient funding or continuing support.

Fourthly, I suggest that the Institute be encouraged to have another look and revise their current list of nine priority areas for inquiries for applications in consultation with various scholars. The ones that are listed there are all fine and good but I think it may be time to look to see if perhaps some additional ones might be included, particularly in reference to the kind of approach which I have mentioned—what do you do when the milder means have failed? Is war then your only option, or do you have choices?

The Institute might also give greater support—although evidenced by our own grant it has given some—to proposals in subject areas which are not already relatively well-funded by other bodies and institutions, especially proposals which are seen to be based upon assumptions which are not necessarily those of established policies.

I think positive beginnings have been made in the establishment of the United States Institute of Peace as a basis from which it can

grow. All of those who have been involved with that effort, including yourself, of course, and the members of the Board merit congratulations. This beginning now merits further support. I hope that your Committee will recommend to the Senate that that be provided.

[The prepared statement of Mr. Sharp follows:]

Oversight Hearings on the United States Institute of Peace

FUTURE PRIORITIES FOR STUDIES ON ACHIEVING PEACE IN A DANGEROUS WORLD

Testimony presented to joint hearings of the
Committee on Foreign Relations and the
Committee on Labor and Human Resources
of the United States Senate

in accordance with Sec. 1712 of the
United States Institute of Peace Act

from Gene Sharp, D. Phil. (Oxon.)
President, The Albert Einstein Institution
Program Director, Program on Nonviolent Sanctions
Center for International Affairs, Harvard University

Dirksen Senate Office Building, Room 430
November 10, 1987

Biographical Notes

Gene Sharp is President of the Albert Einstein Institution, a foundation dedicated to the investigation of nonviolent struggle. He also directs the Program on Nonviolent Sanctions in Conflict and Defense of Harvard University's Center for International Affairs. He is Professor Emeritus of Political Science at Southeastern Massachusetts University.

He holds a Doctor of Philosophy in Political Theory from Oxford University, and a M.A. in Sociology and B.A. in Social Sciences from Ohio State University, and received an honorary Doctor of Law degree from Manhattan College.

Before coming to Harvard in 1965 he lived and studied for ten years in England and Norway.

Sharp is the author of several books on nonviolent struggle, political power, political problems, and defense policies. His works have been published in English in various countries and have been published, or are being translated, into seventeen languages. His books include: **Making Europe Unconquerable: The Potential of Civilian-Based Deterrence and Defense** (Introduction by George Kennan), **National Security Through Civilian-Based Defense**, **Social**

Power and Political Freedom (Introduction by Senator Mark Hatfield), Gandhi as a Political Strategist (Introduction by Coretta Scott King), and his major book The Politics of Nonviolent Action (Introduction by Thomas C. Schelling).

He is an international lecturer and has spoken at many American colleges and universities.

The Albert Einstein Institution

The Albert Einstein Institution is the recipient of a $50,000 grant from the United States Institute of Peace for three projects relating to the use of nonviolent forms of struggle against political violence. These are (1) completion of a major annotated classified bibliography on nonviolent struggle; (2) the preparation of a research agenda (areas, topics, and priorities) for the coming decade, and (3) the editing of a book based on seminars held by the Program on Nonviolent Sanctions in Harvard University's Center for International Affairs about recent studies and practice of nonviolent sanctions.

The Albert Einstein Institution is a nonprofit organization which conducts and supports research, policy studies, and education on the strategic uses of nonviolent sanctions (that is, nonviolent methods of waging conflicts) in relation to the problems of political violence. It was established in 1983. It is located at 1430 Massachusetts Avenue, Cambridge, Massachusetts.

The Einstein Institution supports individual researchers conducting studies in this field, assists the writing and publication of books on the nature and potential of nonviolent forms of struggle, and conducts and supports

other research, policy studies, and educational efforts about nonviolent sanctions in relation to the problems of dictatorship, war, genocide and oppression.

The Einstein Institution is also the major funder of the Program on Nonviolent Sanctions in the Center for International Affairs at Harvard University. The Program on Nonviolent Sanctions is part of Harvard University's Center for International Affairs. It was established also in 1983. The Program conducts research on the nature of nonviolent sanctions in human conflicts and also policy-oriented studies on their potential applications.

Our work is especially related to an authorization by the United States Institute of Peace Act, Sec. 1705 (b) (3) that the Institute, acting through the Board, "conduct research and make studies, particularly of an interdisciplinary or of a multidisciplinary nature . . . into the experiences of the United States and other nations in resolving conflicts with justice and dignity and without violence as they pertain to the advancement of international peace and conflict resolution, placing particular emphasis on realistic approaches to past successes and failures in the quest for peace and arms control. . ."

Our experience in the Einstein Institution in dealing with Officers, Staff, and Directors of the United States Institute of Peace has been a positive one. They ensured

the presentation of our views in the first of the "intellectual map colloquia," encouraged submission of a proposal, provided assistance in its preparation, made their decision promptly, and finally made a significant grant. The grant was for support of three of the five projects for which we sought backing, was for one year instead of two. The excluded projects were preparation of a technical dictionary for the field and the writing of a basic introduction to civilian-based defense. The original budget request was for $248,915.75.

However, the grant was of major help and was not available from any other source. Work is now proceeding on the bibliography and the edited book, and work on the research agenda will begin early in 1988.

The Institute deserves particular praise for including in the Jennings Randolph Program for International Peace support for doctoral students working on their doctoral dissertations.

I have a few recommendations for the continuation and further development of the United States Institute of Peace. They will, however, be more understandable in the context of a brief presentation of the rationale and subject matter of our work on nonviolent alternatives.

The reality of conflict and danger

A responsible approach to the search for peace needs to recognize that the world in which we live is one in which aggression and conflict are widespread, both within societies and internationally. Moral pleas, international organization, calls for cooperation, and even preparedness for war have been unable to change that reality. Instead, aggression, usurpation, dictatorship, genocide, terrorism, systems of oppression, and political violence in other forms are continuing dangers. While pursuing the effort to achieve world peace, therefore, we need to face fully the need to have effective means to wage acute conflicts and to resist hostile forces. Many approaches to peace and peace research have not done that.

We need to be able to face the question of how to confront those conflicts which traditional means have failed to resolve and where one party is prepared to use military action to achieve its objectives. In those situations the usual pattern is to resort to war, either civil (including guerrilla) or international. It has often been assumed, without a serious search for alternatives, that only military means are capable of achieving liberation, introducing justice, or defending freedom. Yet war today often fails to achieve its objectives and inflicts immense casualties and destruction. Even when victory is achieved,

the long-term results often fall far short of the original goals.

Effective means are nevertheless still required to confront those conflicts where compromise on fundamental principles or on the future of one's society is unacceptable, and where the opponent is able and willing to use violence and military might to achieve his objectives. Therefore, in addition to considering the more traditional approaches to achieving world peace and to opposing dictatorships, oppression, and international aggresssion, we need to look at possible new options: means of fighting for noble objectives which are both effective and nonviolent.

There is growing evidence, rooted in various historical experiences, that there exist effective alternatives to civil and international war by which people can struggle against internal oppressors and foreign aggressors. That possibility merits full investigation.

Nonviolent forms of struggle

A major technique for conducting conflict, waging struggle, and providing national defense has until recently remained virtually unexplored, misperceived, and neglected by both academics and policy makers. This is the technique of nonviolent struggle -- protest, noncooperation, and intervention without physical violence. This technique is

now becoming more prominent and its practice often appears on our television screens and is reported in our newspapers.

This technique uses social, economic, psychological, and political weapons, instead of violent methods. The technique of nonviolent sanctions includes nearly two hundred identified methods of symbolic protest, social noncooperation, economic boycotts, labor strikes, political noncooperation, and nonviolent intervention (ranging from sit-ins to parallel government).

In significant cases, even without preparation, nonviolent struggle has already been substituted for political violence as the technique of struggle. These include the Solidarity movement in Poland and resistance during and since Martial Law; student demonstrations in China for democracy; current struggles in Chile, South Africa, and Panama; recent protests in Lithuania for independence, and even demonstrations in Moscow; the nonviolent rising against Marcos in the Philippines in February 1986; the 1986 ousting of "Baby Doc" Duvalier in Haiti; anti-Nazi resistance movements in Norway, the Netherlands, and Denmark; Czechoslovak resistance to the Soviet invasion and occupation, 1968-1969; the American civil rights movement; and many other cases in Latin America, the Arab world, Africa, Asia, Europe, and the

United States. Most often, nonviolent struggle has been conducted by people and movements which might otherwise have used violence but under the circumstances were willing to follow a grand strategy of nonviolent struggle to increase their chances for success.

The results have been a mixture of partial successes, defeats, and victories. The technique has been successfully applied against violently repressive opponents. Nonviolent struggle has defeated Nazi policies, frustrated Communist rulers, undermined dictators, battled foreign invaders, and thwarted coups d'etat. Sometimes nonviolent struggle required a long time, but at other times produced victory within weeks. We often do not recognize the gains not only for the people struggling but for the world as a whole of the substitution of nonviolent struggle for violence. For example, what would the world be like today if the Poles had risen in violent insurrection instead of organizing Solidarity and other democratizing activities?

Nonviolent struggle is a technique for matching forces against an opponent group; it is a means of combat, as is war. It involves the mobilization of forces and the waging of "battles," requires wise strategy and tactics, and demands of its "soldiers" courage, discipline, and sacrifice. (Despite this, casualty rates are usually much lower than in conventional or guerrilla wars.) People

seeking victory by nonviolent struggle need to fulfill its requirements for success to the maximum of their capacity whether they are seeking conversion of their opponents, accommodation with them, coercion, or disintegration of the opponents' system.

Despite lack of preparations and often against great odds, many such past struggles have been waged largely without violence. The past cases establish that the substitution of nonviolent struggle for violence is possible. The successes establish that it can be effective. This experience may be of crucial importance for us as we face the need to end war while at the same time we require effective means of struggle against dictatorship and oppression and also will continue to need defense against international aggression and internal usurpations.

Investigation and refinement

As in other fields, we can gain greater knowledge of this type of action by conducting research into its practice and requirements for effectiveness. We can potentially learn how to increase its effectiveness and to adapt it to the conflicts of the future. This is a major part of the tasks of the Albert Einstein Institution.

With research, preparation, feasibility studies, and careful planning, substitution of nonviolent struggle for

war might in the future occur more frequently than in the past, yet maintain or increase our capacity to destroy dictatorships, defeat coups d'etat, and defend against international aggressors. Development of powerful nonviolent alternatives in these conflicts would make possible a responsible choice to use them instead of war. This presumes, however, major successful investigation, refinement, and development of nonviolent forms of struggle. It is to that development that major attention must now be directed.

This type of study focuses on the nature of nonviolent action used, not as a creed or philosophy, but as a technique of action adopted on pragmatic grounds by groups to enable them to wage conflict effectively in order to reach their goals.

In recent years social science and historical studies have begun to reveal this as a vast and extraordinarily rich field. In several countries scholarly research and policy studies have been undertaken in recent years. During the past twenty-five years, an unusual limited but significant policy-oriented interest has emerged in the possibilities of deliberate development of the nonviolent technique for national defense uses; i.e., to produce a full substitute for defensive conventional war or a nonviolent supplement to military defense. Policy makers have also begun to examine

whether this technique can be deliberately refined and adapted to provide specific substitutes for political violence for particular purposes, including national defense. The extent of governmental interest in Europe in the potential utility of a prepared nonviolent resistance capacity for national defense is almost unknown. Some type of governmental, military, or defense ministry investigation or research into this potential has already occurred in Sweden, the Netherlands, France, Norway, Austria, Finland, and Denmark, and nonviolent resistance is officially established as a part of the national defense policies of Switzerland, Sweden, and Yugoslavia.

Thus, the basis has been laid for major research and analysis of the technique of nonviolent struggle and its policy potential. Basic and problem-oriented research, coupled with deliberate efforts at refinement and development, would significantly increase the effectiveness of this nonviolent combat technique, as has been done with the technique of war.

This field is ready for major expansion of research and policy studies on the nature and potential of nonviolent struggle. A few excellent younger scholars have already joined the field. However, in relation to the need, the financial resources now available are pitifully small.

This is the context for my recommendations concerning

the United States Institute of Peace.

Recommendations

First, I recommend that the United States Institute of Peace be reauthorized, and that its reauthorization be made permanent at the earlier possible time. The Institute is unique and has demonstrated that it is willing and able to support and conduct studies of the problems of peace and war and alternatives to violence not undertaken by other parts of the government.

Second, I recommend that the United States Institute of Peace be funded to its full request of $10,000,000. That is a remarkably small sum in comparison to the broad responsibilities and duties which the United States Institute of Peace Act prescribes. There has now been time to establish effective administrative proceedures and to gain experience in evaluating proposals and awarding grants, so that the additional funds are certain to be used responsibly and effectively.

Third, with the benefit of its gained experience and increased resources, I recommend that the United States Institute of Peace in the future be willing at times to make larger and longer-term grants, especially for proposals like our own which include multiple projects or projects which extend over several years.

Fourth, I recommend that the Institute be encouraged to revise their current list of nine priority areas of inquiry for applications in consultation with various scholars, and that the revised list explicitly include attention to the viability of nonviolent means of combat in situations of acute conflict with violent opponents. A more inclusive list of areas may encourage more scholars, analysts, and educators to apply for support for relevant work in the field.

Fifth, in evaluating future projects, I recommend that the Directors give greater support to those proposals in subject areas of study which are not already funded in major ways, which are based on assumptions which differ from those underlying present policies, and which can be seen to have identifiable and supportable relationships to the achievement of peace with dignity, freedom, and justice.

Conclusion

Positive beginnings have been made here which can be the basis for a stronger Institute of Peace in the future. Those individuals and bodies responsible for the achievements thus far merit congratulations.

Those beginnings, however, need to be nurtured, supported, and guided to make their maximum possible contributions to the eventual development of a world in

which not only war but also dictatorship and oppression are relegated to an earlier era of our history. Given a fraction of the financial support and human effort which have gone into creating present military capacity, that goal is achievable.

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Senator MATSUNAGA. Thank you very much, Mr. Sharp.

Now, let me ask each of you this question. How did you learn about the grants program of the U.S. Institute of Peace? Mr. Sharp first.

Mr. SHARP. We had been aware of the efforts over some years to establish such a body, in which you were involved and the campaign for a National Peace Academy. We therefore received mailings announcing the Institute's establishment and made inquiries to request the guidelines.

Senator MATSUNAGA. I see. Mr. Baker?

Mr. BAKER. I knew about the U.S. Institute for Peace because of the long effort to establish it, Mr. Chairman, and because I was watching its early development. When its directors were finally appointed and it started to operate, I asked on behalf of the Atlantic Council to receive their grant application procedures, and we did so.

Senator MATSUNAGA. Do you have any other source of funding?

Mr. BAKER. Yes, we do, sir. We are an organization which is supported by a number of foundations and corporations and we also run projects which are supported by such governmental bodies as the United States Information Agency, the National Endowment for Humanities and so forth.

Senator MATSUNAGA. I see. I meant to ask you that question, Mr. Sharp.

Mr. SHARP. We have limited support. Most of it has come from individual contributions thus far by a variety of mostly American and one English foundations and trusts, all in quite limited amounts of money, so that this Institute contribution was a very significant assistance to us.

Senator MATSUNAGA. Now, Mr. Montville?

Mr. MONTVILLE. Several of the career Foreign Service Officers in the Center for the Study of Foreign Affairs were aware of the efforts to establish the U.S. Institute of Peace and individually were quite supportive and kept themselves informed—I was one of those—and when the legislation was successful and the program got underway, we had good contacts and had early discussions with officers of the Institute on how the Center at the State Department could collaborate with the Institute in its mission and the grant program was an obvious way to do that.

Senator MATSUNAGA. I take it then, by your testimony, that each and every one of you support the reauthorization of the Act to continue the U.S. Institute of Peace.

Mr. MONTVILLE. Unconditionally.

Mr. BAKER. I certainly do, sir.

Mr. SHARP. That's correct.

Senator MATSUNAGA. Let the record show that all three have nodded yes.

We may submit to you questions in writing and we ask that you submit your responses for the record in writing. I want to thank each and every one of you for your most enlightening testimony and I appreciate your taking time to appear before the Joint Committee. Thank you very much.

Our next panel of witnesses consists of public witnesses. First, Mr. Keith Geiger, Vice President, National Education Association,

Washington, D.C.; and Mr. J. David Eberly, Program Coordinator, World Peace Academy, Church of the Brethren, Washington, D.C.

We would be happy to hear from you first, Mr. Geiger.

STATEMENT OF KEITH GEIGER, VICE PRESIDENT, NATIONAL EDUCATION ASSOCIATION, WASHINGTON, DC; AND J. DAVID EBERLY, PROGRAM COORDINATOR, WORLD PEACE ACADEMY, CHURCH OF THE BRETHREN, WASHINGTON, DC

Mr. GEIGER. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I have placed before you written testimony and if that will be placed in the record I will give you the five-minute version of the testimony at this time.

Senator MATSUNAGA. Thank you very much. I have been very generous by extending it to ten minutes but I just got a note here that I will be needed on the Floor at about four o'clock to testify in behalf of the Older Americans Act. So please go ahead.

Mr. GEIGER. I am Keith Geiger, Vice President of the National Education Association. We come before you this afternoon to strongly urge the Congress to continue to support fully the purposes, objectives and goals of the United States Institute of Peace and to consider changes which will enhance its operation.

Teachers have traditionally sought to promote peace and order throughout the world community. That has been true because teachers understand that learning, intellectualism, social, economic and political stability and the advance of civilization can only flourish in an atmosphere of peace. Working as they do with children, teachers are devoted to the improvement of our future and they worry about the hostile dangerous world where a nuclear mishap or a misadventure could rob this planet of any future at all.

The major powers spend trillions each year for destructive weapons systems and have thus far failed to make many of us feel very secure. We live in times when war is absolutely unthinkable but we continue to prepare for one. We live in times when the only logical course is to seek peace and to avoid violent conflict, but we do virtually nothing unrelated to military spending and development of weaponry to assure this condition.

Given the earlier House action to zero fund the Institute, we are encouraged to observe that the Senate Appropriations Committee's action restored funds in the amount of $5 million. We commend the Senate and we commend you personally for supporting its continued funding.

As the process of consideration of the Institute's future proceeds, we strongly urge that thought be given to its permanent authorization. While that alone will not solve the funding problem, it will provide a more secure base for program implementation and planning.

Further, we would urge the Congress to explore creative schemes by which the Institute might solicit and exempt non-governmental funds. Private funding should, however, be viewed only as supplementary.

The question of housing for the Institute should not be critical matter at this point. Until such time as the Institute is more fully developed it should be located in the District of Columbia. It is our

understanding that there has been grave concern in some quarters regarding the Institute's access to classified Government documents. It is our opinion that since the Institute is not a policy-making body it has no compelling need for classified information.

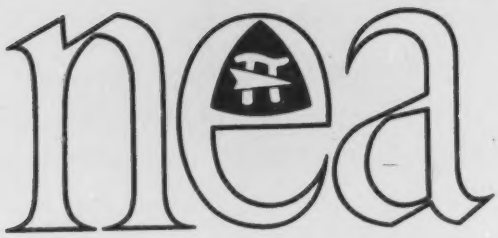
One NEA resolution is directed specifically to the United States Institute of Peace and states, and I quote: "The Institute should be sufficiently funded to provide programs, training and research data in developing peacemaking and conflict resolution skills as well as to provide for the publication and dissemination of information in this field."

Moreover, we believe that it is important that the Institute be given degree-granting authority. We maintain that the public members of the Board of the Institute should include non-governmental volunteer organizations, community organizations, universities, private foundations, professional and labor organizations.

We believe, as the UNESCO Constitution proclaims, "Since wars begin in the minds of men, it is in the minds of men that the defenses of peace must be constructed." The United States Institute of Peace is in a position to reaffirm American commitment to that belief and to advance the use of human creativity in addressing the causes and resolution of international conflict.

I thank you for the opportunity to appear before you today and to offer our opinions regarding this important matter. Thank you very much.

[The prepared statement of Mr. Geiger follows:]



LEGISLATIVE INFORMATION

Testimony

of the

The National Education Association

on

The Institute of Peace

before the

Senate Labor and Human Relations Committee

and the

Senate Foreign Relations Committee

Presented by

Keith Geiger

Vice President

November 10, 1987

MARY HATWOOD FUTRELL, President • KEITH GEIGER, Vice President • ROXANNE E. BRADSHAW, Secretary-Treasurer
DON CAMERON, Executive Director
(202) 822-7300

Mr. Chairman and members of the Committee. I am Keith Geiger, Vice President of the National Education Association, I represent the 1.8 million teachers and education employees who are members of the NEA. We come before you this afternoon to strongly urge the Congress to continue to support fully the purposes, objectives and goals of the United States Institute of Peace and to consider changes which will enhance its operation.

Teachers have traditionally sought to promote peace and order throughout the world community. That has been true because teachers understand that learning, intellectualism, social, economic and political stability, and the advance of civilization can only flourish in an atmosphere of peace. Working as they do with children, teachers are devoted to the improvement of our future and they worry about the hostile, dangerous world where a nuclear mishap or misadventure could rob this planet of any future at all.

Teachers also recognize the wonderful power of the human mind and spirit. We believe that it is entirely within our grasp, given the creativity of the human intellect, to fashion the mechanisms essential to the resolution of conflicts, and to the avoidance of war, while protecting freedoms and respecting and preserving the sovereignty of nations.

The major powers spend trillions each year for destructive weapons systems that have thus far failed to make us feel more

secure. Governments are proposing to spend even more for killing machines that threaten every man, woman and child on the face of the earth. We live in times when war is absolutely unthinkable but we continue to prepare for one. We live in times when the only logical course is to seek peace and to avoid violent conflict, but we do virtually nothing unrelated to military spending and development of weaponry to assure this condition.

For 1988, the United States Institute of Peace requested ten million dollars. When viewed in the context of the Defense budget, this is a pitifully insignificant amount. Even if the Institute would receive the total amount requested, it would be inadequate. Still, some in this Congress are apparently unwilling to fund even this small amount.

Given the earlier House action to "zero fund" the Institute, we are encouraged to observe that the Senate Appropriations Committee's action restored funds in the amount of $5 million. This, we are given to understand, will sustain the Institute for an additional year, but fails to provide sufficient resources for its programs to prosper and permits no development of new programs. We commend the Senate for supporting its continued funding, but our view is that the Institute is simply too important to exist in an insecure financial posture.

As the process of consideration of the Institute's future proceeds, we strongly urge that thought be given to its permanent

authorization. While that alone will not solve the funding problem, it will provide a more secure base for program implementation and planning. As the situation stands, much time and energy of the Institute staff and its officers will be wasted in activity related to each new two year authorization.

Further, we would urge the Congress to explore with officials of the Institute, and with other experts in the field, creative schemes by which the Institute might solicit and accept non-governmental funds so that the impact and scope of its programs could be expanded. We do not believe that the Institute should have a free hand to accept funds indiscriminately from any source. Such funds run the risk of being perceived as tainted, introducing unwanted controversy; the potential for undermining the credibility of the Institute is a threat to be considered. Perhaps guidelines satisfactory to all might be fashioned in the future.

However, we wish to be clear in conveying to you a concern that the potential, at some future time, of securing private contributions to the Institute must not contribute to a weakening of your resolve to fund the Institute's basic operation and programs through sufficient Congressional appropriation and authorization. Private funding should be viewed as supplementary lest the Institute be reduced to the circumstance of an organization which must, if it is to survive and offer a meaningful program, spend an inordinate amount of time and

energy in pursuit of operational funds. This is a matter to be considered with utmost care, we believe.

The question of housing for the Institute should not be a critical matter at this point. Until such time as the Institute has more fully developed, it should be located in the District of Columbia. We suggest that the Congress give serious thought to permanently locating it within the Federal City and opening extensions of the Institute in other parts of the country at times when the circumstances warrant their establishment.

It is our understanding that there has been grave concern in some quarters regarding the Institute's access to classified government documents. It is our opinion that since the Institute is not a policy-making body, it has no compelling need for classified information. For purposes of research relating to Institute programs, requests can be filed for declassifying certain documents when, on a case by case basis, they are needed. We see no purpose, but do recognize the possibility of harm, if unlimited access to classified materials is provided to Institute personnel.

Policies adopted at Representative Assemblies of NEA commit us to world peace. We have supported efforts addressed to establishing a Peace Academy, later the Institute of Peace. Our Resolutions speak of world peace, peaceful resolution of conflicts, human and civil rights, and the teaching about nuclear war

among other related matters. One of our Resolutions is directed specifically to the U.S. Institute of Peace and states that "The Institute should be sufficiently funded to provide programs, training and research data in developing peacemaking and conflict resolution skills as well as provide for the publication and dissemination of information in this field." Moreover, we believe that it is important that the Institute be given degree-granting authority.

We agree with the Congressional conclusion that the Institute should "seek participation from a broad cross-section of our nation." The members of our organization are vitally interested in the activities of the Institute and will work cooperatively to further the aims of the Institute programs. We are therefore also in agreement that the public members of the Board of the Institute should include "non-governmental volunteer organizations, community organizations, universities, private foundations, professional and labor organizations." The addition of such persons will further the goal of building support for the Institute programs nationally and will result in widespread dissemination of matters related to the work products of the Institute.

We believe, as the UNESCO Constitution proclaims, "Since wars begin in the minds of men, it is in the minds of men that the defenses of peace must be constructed." The U.S. Institute of Peace is in a position to reaffirm American commitment to that

belief and to advance the use of human creativity in addressing the causes and resolution of international conflict.

Our Association, a responsible and influential organization, has resolved to work for international understanding, the peaceful resolution of conflict and for world peace. We commit substantial energies and resources to those ends. We view the U.S. Institute of Peace as an important American contribution to a peaceful world and pledge to you our continued interest and support for the Institute and its important programs.

Thank you for the opportunity to appear today and to offer you our opinions regarding this important matter.

Senator MATSUNAGA. Thank you very much. As a former school teacher myself I am delighted and proud that NEA has taken the position of support of the Institute from the very outset.

Mr. GEIGER. Thank you.

Senator MATSUNAGA. We would be happy to hear from you, Mr. Eberly.

Mr. EBERLY. Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman. I am pleased, too, to be here with my brother Keith. It is only coincidental that I discovered he was here today. I served with him several years ago on the Board of Directors of NEA as we were beginning our support for the issues he discussed, and I am very pleased to join him today at the table.

I am delighted to be here representing the Church of the Brethren. It is my privilege as a citizen of this nation to do this kind of thing for the first time and I am a bit awestruck. If you will bear with me, I appreciate your courtesy and support of all of us at the witness table today.

I am representing Mr. Leland Wilson, who is the Director of the Washington Office of the Church of the Brethren, and he is unable to be here. He is in Chicago, Illinois, today but has sent over a number of copies of his statement and I would just very briefly like to highlight the points that he has made for your Committee.

The Church of the Brethren is a denomination that by tradition theology and practice since the earliest days of the 18th century has had an interest in world peace and a concern about war as an instrumentality of foreign policy as well as a practice of nonviolence in our corporate and personal affairs.

My own particular program within the Church is a youth studies program in which we bring together—now over 700 young people since 1982—youth who come together for the purpose of studying nonviolence and conflict resolution as agents of securing peace not only in our own daily lives but in the life of our nation.

The Church has from the earliest initiation of the idea of a National Peace Academy been highly supportive of the Foundation and the efforts of the Congress and of the legislation that has been adopted. I would want to say also, supportive of the action of the Institute during these two years. We find much of what has happened, and particularly all of the testimony today, to be very heartening in terms of our position and we want to urge the permanent authorization of the U.S. Institute of Peace, which I believe has been the position of all those who have been here.

There are many commendations that our paper wishes to make in terms of the action the past two years, simply to bring to life the legislative purposes embodied in the law and getting underway and creating a new institution in this town is a memorable feat. We are very heartened by that.

We are also heartened by the strong defense of the Institute's independence, the establishment of the Jennings Randolph Program for International Peace with fellows and scholars, the awarding of the research grants, and especially during recent months, the development of a much more accommodating attitude on the part of the staff and the Office of the Institute.

There are, however, a number of concerns that our paper would wish to lift up for your consideration. The failure, we believe, to

meet some of the legislative deadline for completing the appointment of the Board of Directors was of great concern to our organization. Many of the things, of course, that I will highlight from this statement are in some respects symbolic, but in fact a lot of what happens with an agency such as the U.S. Institute is symbolic for our own particular interests.

We believe, also, that the Board that has been named, in many respects, represents a somewhat narrow ideological and social segment of the nation. We find there to be many omissions in terms of persons and groups and interests that ought to be more closely identified with the action and the program of the Institute of Peace.

In the conduct of its business, further, the Institute has seemed, in the short time it has been in operation, to have little interest in developing a constituency, and here I refer to the experience of the person who has written our statement. He has found it very difficult to establish in many respects relationships with the staff and the Office of the Institute and I find it heartening to hear from those who have testified earlier that it is planned to begin publication of a newsletter soon. This will have one effect, in building a constituency in the nation.

We believe, too, that there is missing a vision of the U.S. Institute of Peace as a substantial institution of learning based upon academic disciplines, developing curriculum, research projects, and publications that contribute to the literature of peace. We find today in the testimony of some witnesses that there is, however, work being done that is accomplishing some of that objective.

Finally, we wish to make certain recommendations as you consider a permanent reauthorization of the U.S. Institute of Peace. The first, we believe is that all official access to classified information should be eliminated. We believe that in its operation there is no room for the use of classified or secret information and in effect, as an educational and an intellectual agency, the concern with classified information defeats that objective.

We believe the composition of the Board should be less tied to an incumbent Administration, and that ex officio members should not be named who are already serving in a sitting Administration of Government.

Thirdly, we believe Congress should find, in the naming of Board members, some way of assuring greater diversity and representation of the values which we believe were sought in the purpose of the Institute. This may mean that congress might share with the President the responsibility of nominating Board members in order to have a more diverse representation.

We think, in terms of the authorization given for the assignment of existing staff from Government agencies to the Institute, that it be limited to the Secretary of State. We find some irony that there is the possibility of staff members and officers being assigned from agencies within the Government that may not be as symbolic to the cause of peace as that of diplomacy.

We believe that the provision that grants and contracts may be made to study conflict resolution between free trade unions and communist dominated organizations in the context of the global struggle for the protection of human rights be eliminated from the

text of the authorization document. The rhetoric of our language, is important in suggesting a mentality from which we approach the issue of making peace.

Finally, the restriction that prevents gifts and contributions from private individuals or institutes to the Institute of Peace should be removed. I make this recommendation advisedly, knowing that in some cases there is an ideology connected with a gift and that in other cases there may be a temptation that private contributions be deducted from the Congressional authorization. We do not have an intent that either of these concerns should be violated and that the Congress should fully fund the authorization, but that as a generic prohibition we believe this deserves more consideration.

Again, on behalf of the Church of the Brethren and Mr. Wilson from our Washington Office, I thank you for the opportunity to present this testimony and we will appreciate your consideration.

[The prepared statement of Mr. Wilson and additional material supplied for the record follow:]

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TESTIMONY

United States Institute of Peace
Hearing, November 10, 1987

Committee on Foreign Relations
and Committee on Labor and Human Resources
Senator Spark Matsunaga, Chair

Presented on behalf of the Church of the Brethren

Written Testimony by: Leland Wilson
Director
Washington Office
Church of the Brethren

Oral Testimony by: J. David Eberly
Program Coordinator
Brethren World Peace Academy

> of the Brethren, we express our encouragement at the enactment by Congress of legislation establishing "The United States Institute of Peace." We support the Administration in implementing this law. As nominees are named and as confirmation hearings are held for the Institute's Board of Directors, we believe that the purposes outlined in the legislation for the Institute should be reflected in the nominees. And, we believe that there should be representation on the Board of religious leaders experienced in mediation and nonviolent approaches to conflict resolution.
>
> As members of a "historic peace church," we believe that nonviolence, which emerges from a spiritual commitment, can be a powerful force for peace in the world. We urge representation of this perspective as the President and the Senate act to establish the United States Institute of Peace.

That resolution is an indication of the church's interest in the policy and direction of the Institute of Peace.

While we remain enthusiastic about the existence of the U.S. Institute of Peace, it would be less than candid if we said we feel validated in our enthusiasm thus far. Our dreams and hopes for such an institution are being realized in only the most limited sense. Our disappointment is large. The problems lie in the way Public Law 98-525, authorizing the U.S. Institute of Peace, has been implemented and in flaws in that legislation itself.

In evaluating the performance of the Institute, we wish to acknowledge some progress in the creation of a new institution. We commend the Board and its staff to the extent that it sought to bring to life the legislative purpose embodied in Public Law 98-525. We applaud the work of simply getting underway in creating a new institution; the strong defense of the Institute's independence; the establishment of the Jennings Randolph Program for International Peace with Fellows and Scholars; the awarding of research grants, that after initial problems of grants being awarded to government agencies and to agencies identified with Board members, seemed to show greater balance and judgment in the awards; and in the last half-year, the development of a more accommodating attitude on the part of the staff.

Since enactment of the legislation, we have had these concerns:

> Failure of the Administration to meet the legislative deadline for completing the appointment of the Board of Directors. Nearly three years passed after the legislation before the final Board member was named.

Chairman Matsunaga, Members of the Committees, thank you for the invitation to present testimony on behalf of the Church of the Brethren related to the oversight and reauthorization of the U.S. Institute of Peace. My name is Leland Wilson. I serve the Church of the Brethren as Director of its Washington Office. The office is part of the ministry of the World Ministries Commission, Church of the Brethren General Board.

Let me begin this testimony by a strong affirmation of a national institution devoted to the study and pursuit of peace. The Church of the Brethren has long supported the establishment of such an institution, believing that it is a minimal investment in peace compared to what we invest in war, the study of war, the preparation for war, and the waging of war. As a world and as a nation, we have not understood, nor have we had the will, the commitment, to resolve all international disputes by peaceful means. We have had some positive experiences in peaceful resolution; those experiences offer hints of promise that peace is possible. The U.S. Institute puts that possibility on our national agenda.

The Church of the Brethren embraces within its heritage both a commitment to nonviolence and an appreciation for order. With values much oriented toward the family, we believe that the order, which is our ideal in the family, can be a reasonable ideal and achievement in relations between nations, depending upon the presence of justice and the knowledge and desire of nations to proceed lawfully and civilly with each other.

There are many governmental and private peace academies/institutes in the world. The establishment of the U.S. Institute of peace provides an opportunity for our nation to not only develop peacefully, but also to give leadership in the research of peace, the lessening of international violence, and the resolving of international conflict. In this context, we urge the permanent authorization of the U.S. Institute of Peace.

The last official resolution regarding this by the Church of the Brethren was in October, 1985. At that time, the General Board declared:

> The Church of the Brethren has had a long-time interest in the establishment of a national peace academy. We believe that such an institution, independent of other government agencies and devoted to promoting international peace, could be a major force in resolving international conflicts without resorting to violence.
>
> As members of the General Board of the Church

> The Board that was named represents a very narrow ideological and social segment of the nation. There are no minorities. Until the very last appointment, there were no women. There are no representatives of labor. There is no one identified with nonviolence, or the peace movement, or conciliation/mediation. Indeed, the appointments give the appearance of being in defiance of the legislative purpose of the Institute, judging by the published writings and statements of the Board members. While the Institute in its Biennial Report makes much of not being tied to an ideology, it is their ideological tunnel vision which prevents them from seeing, that of all courses, they have chosen the most ideological.

> In the conduct of business, the Institute has seemed to have no interest in developing a constituency. Those who have had an interest in the establishment of a national peace academy and who worked to achieve passage of the legislation have not been welcomed in the creation of the new institution. At times when Board meetings are open, guests are generally ignored; agendas and exhibits are not provided; there is no invited response or participation. There appears to be no way for the interested public to have a genuine hearing. Efforts to monitor the Institute seem to be interpreted as an intrusion, rather than a partnership. On the other hand, there has been only the most limited quantity of information coming from the Institute (for example, the Institute does not publish a newsletter; it does not make available a summary or minutes of meetings). The way in which business is conducted appears to be contrary to the spirit and intent of the legislation.

> Missing, we believe, is a vision of the U.S. Institute of Peace as a substantial institution of learning, based upon academic disciplines, developing curriculum, research projects in its own endeavor, and publication that contributes to the literature of peace.

Finally, we wish to make certain recommendations as you consider reauthorization.

1. All official access to classified information should be eliminated. Properly understood in its function (that is, for training and development of ideas), there is no need for such information. The Institute would actually be more free to pursue its interest without classified information.

2. The composition of the Board should be less tied to an incumbent administration. Ex officio members should not be named who are already serving elsewhere in the administration. By such naming, there is a contradiction of one of the Institute's purposes of providing a new and independent perspective for the issues involved in peace.

3. Congress should find, in the naming of Board members, ways of assuring greater diversity and representation of the values sought by the purpose of the Institute. (For example, we believe that one or more Board members should represent nonviolence that emerges from a spiritual commitment, and that one or more Board members should represent religious leaders experienced in mediation and nonviolent approaches to conflict resolution.) This might mean that Congress would share with the President the responsibility for nominating Board members.

4. Authorization for the assigning of staff to the Institute should be limited to the Secretary of State. It appears inappropriate to have staff assigned to the Institute of Peace by the Department of Defense and the Central Intelligence Agency. That provision, if exercised, would call into question the credibility of the Institute as an institution of peace. At the same time, it is hoped that the Department of Defense and the Central Intelligence Agency would benefit from the program offered by the Institute.

5. Remove the provision that grants or contracts may be made to study "conflict resolution between free trade unions and communist-dominated organizations in the context of the global struggle for the protection of human rights." This reflects a cold war mentality and rhetoric that is inconsistent with an interest in peace itself.

6. Remove the restriction that prevents gifts and contributions to the Institute. It is entirely possible that persons and institutions with a philanthropic interest could assist measurably in the development of the U.S. Institute of Peace.

Again, on behalf of the Church of the Brethren, I wish to thank you for this opportunity to present testimony. We will appreciate your consideration.

INSTITUTE FOR PEACE DEVELOPMENT

November 20, 1987

Elma Henderson
Legislative Assistant
Senator Spark Matsunaga
109 Hart Senate Office Building
Washington, DC 20510

Dear Elma,

I have enclosed a written statement that I wish to be included in the testimony for the Joint Oversight Hearings on the United States Institute of Peace, Committee on Labor and Human Resources and the Committee on Foreign Affairs, United States Senate held on November 10, 1987.

I have enclosed some background information concerning our West Coast efforts to promote the Institute.

I wish to again thankyou for taking the time from your busy schedule to discuss the current issues of the Institute when I visit Washington, and for providing this opportunity to present testimony to the Senate Oversight Hearings.

Yours truly,

Bill Hough
Director

cc: Senator Alan Cranston, Senator Mark Hatfield, Senator John Kerry
Congressperson Barbara Boxer, Congressperson Dan Glickman,
Congressperson Leon Panetta
Ambassador Sam Lewis, President of the USIP, Bob Colan, Director of the National Peace Institute Foundation, Jim Laue, Co-Chair of COPRED, Collen Rodgers, President of the North Pacific Regional Council of the National Peace Institute Foundation.

enc:

PEACE CENTER OF MARIN, 1024 SIR FRANCIS DRAKE BLVD.
SAN ANSELMO, CALIF. 94960 (415) 459-5547

Written statement submitted to the to the Joint Oversight Hearing on the United States Institute of Peace, Committee on Labor and Human Resources and the Committee on Foreign Affairs, United States Senate, held on November 10, 1987

Introduction

My name is Bill Hough. I am the Director of the Institute for Peace Development located in Marin County and Coordinator of the Santa Cruz Peace Center Committee, located in Santa Cruz California. I have been an active supporter of the United States Institute of Peace since its inception in October 1984, and have been working since that time to develop support for a San Francisco Bay Area Center of the Institute.

I am a member of the National Peace Institute Foundation and was active in the Foundations's effort to encourage President Reagan to obey Section 1706, (e) (3) of the Institute's Charter that required the President to nominate the Board of Directors by April 20, 1985. I had the priviledge of attending the May 1,1985 Forum "U.S. Institute of Peace: Current Issues", sponsored by the Center for Law and National Security, School of Law, University of Virginia, at which Senator Jennings Randolph gave an impassionate plea to the President to appoint the Board.

In the Spring of 1985, I organized a Conference in Santa Cruz to discuss the potential for creating a San Francisco Bay Area Center of the USIP. I have enclosed a copy of the Conference Brochure. Later that year, I coordinated the National Peace Institute Foundation's program in California to promote the creation of private sector peace institutes. I have enclosed a brochure of this program. In 1986 I wrote the enclosed legislation introduced in the California legislature by Assemblyman John Vasconcellos to create the Monterey Bay Institute for Sustainable Futures. I also published and distributed nationally Peace Process Paper I & II which I have enclosed along with several of the unsolicited letters of response.

in the fall of 1986 I began organizing an effort in Marin County to secure "major project" Buck Trust funding for the Institute for Peace Development. I have enclosed a brochure of our Winter/Spring Speakers Program that was part of the participatory design process for our proposal. Elise Boulding, a member of the Commission on Proposals for the National Academy of Peace and Conflict Resolution, and Johan Galtung, founder of eight peace institutes throughout the world serve on our advisory board. Although our proposal was not selected by the court for "major project" funding, we have developed widespread community support and are now in the process of modifing the proposal to become the basis for a San Francisco Bay Area Center of the USIP. I have enclosed the preliminary schedule for our second Winter/Spring Speakers Program that is part of the participatory design process for this proposal.

We have suggested to President Lewis that we organize a public symposium during his West Coast visit that includes the participation of himself, board member Dennis Bark and the four West Coast recipents of grants from the Institute: World without War Council, the Institute of Contemporary Studies, George Fox College and the University of Washington. The purpose of the syposium will be to present the Institute as " a living institution embodying the hertiage, ideals, and concerns of the American people for peace"...

I have also had the privilege of attending the Senate confirmation hearing on the nominees to the Board of the Institute, each of the first nine meetings of the Board, and several since then. I also attended presentations by John Norton Moore at the Nuclear Age Peace Foundation in Santa Barbara, CA and at the Second Annual Conference of the Midwest Institute of Peace in Des Moines, Iowa. I attended a presentation by board member Allen Wienstein at the NCPCR in Denver and attended the Institute's Stanford syposium that was part of its "Intellectual Map of the International Peace Field" project.

Comments

I believe that Charles D. Smith, Robert Turner, and John Moore have, although admittedly with more caution then many of the supporters of the Institute wish, have build a solid base for the Institute to flourish. With the recent appointment of Ambassador Lewis as President, whom I have had the privilege of meeting and observing at his first board meeting as President, I believe the Institute has the potential to become the great institution for American leadership in creating a world of peace that we have worked so long for.

I have enclosed two my letters to Congresspersons Boxer, and Panetta urging them to urge their colleagues on the House Appropriations Committee to recede to the Senate Appropriation request of $5 million for fiscal 1988.

I believe that the Institute's funding crisis us partially the result of the extraordinary caution exercised by Chairman Moore and the involvement in the intellegence community by so many of the Board members appointed by the President that there is widespread distrust for the Institute, particularly since the Iran-Contra revelations.

With President Lewis in charge, we hope the Institute will be able to develop a vision for its future that is consistent with the wishes of the Institute's supporters.

Recommendations

I have limited my remarks to four issues, the confirmation of the new appointee and the reappointees to the Board, access to classified information, permanent authorization, and private contributions.

1. Confirmation of the nominees to the Board of Directors:

I recommend that the Senate confirm the appointment of Elspeth Davis Rostow and the Reverend Sidney Lovett, and not to confirm the reappointment of William Kintner, Morris Liebman, Richard John Neuhaus, and Bruce Weinrod.

I support the confirmation of Ms. Rostow because she is a very qualified woman, and my observations have lead me to believe that the presence of a woman will greatly enhance the capacity of the Board to develop a vision of its future.

I support the reconfirmation of Reverend Lovett as he is the only member of the Board with direct ties to the citizen effort that worked so long to support the Congressional effort to create the Instiute. Reverend Lovett was pastor of the Rock Springs Congregational Church, the Church that Mike Mapes, former Director of the National Peace Academy Campaign, attended. The Reverend Lovett has been an active participant in the Board's activities, being the only member to attend every Board meeting. He has been active in outreach activities, traveling to Oregon, and Ireland on behalf of the Institute.

I recommend not confirming the other four renominees for two reasons. One is the concern stated by Senator Matsunaga in his *Remarks at the October 24, 1985 Hearing on Nominees for the Board of Directors of the USIP before the Senate Committee on Labor and Human Resources.*

"It is also disappointing to note that President Reagan did not use his authority to nominate a more diverse slate of candidates. ...The Board's lack of diversity is no trival matter, for one of its major tasks will be to develop and conduct outreach programs which include a broad cross section of the American public in the Institute's activities. ..."

and mentioned again in Senate Committee Report # 100-189

"It is important, therefore, both that the Board include full and diverse representation"...

Although, I believe that these four renominees have served the Board well, should be graciously thanked for their contribution, and asked to continue serving until others are appointed and confirmed, I believe that the Institute's future will be better served by allowing the next administration to appoint a new, and hopefully more diversified board.

The second reason, is the distrust that the American people feel for the Institute because of the present composition of the Board and the involvement of so many of its members in the Intellegence Community. This lack of trust is evidenced by the lack of Congressional support for the Institute especially in the House which appropriated no funds for the Institute for fiscal 1988.

Not reconfirming these board members will help reinstill faith in the Institute's future.

2. Permanent authorization

The Charter of the Institute should be admended to permanently authorize the Institute.

Although the "Report of the Committee to Establish the United States Academy of Peace" does not mention permanent authorization, it was certainly assumed in its recommendations to create an endowment and welcome private contributions.

The recommend that the Institute develop a five year plan and submit that plan together with a request fo change the Charter to permanently authorize the Institute.

3. Classified Information

I recommend that the language in the Institute's Charter concerning classified information should remain unchanged.

Although the "Report" of the Commission did not mention classified information, and there is widespread concern that the use of classified information contaiminates peace research, I believe that the inclusion of this provision strenghens the Institute. First, it allows for access to the complex issues of arms control. Second, with the four ex-officio members on the Board, the provision for access to classified information will prevent the Board from becoming a two tiered body, with some members having access to information that is denied to others. Hopefully, with progrss in peacemaking the need to classify information will diminish.

4. Private contributions/regional centers

I recommend that the Board adopt a policy for creating a network of regional peace institutes based on the model of the Corporation for Public Broadcasting. The regional institutes would be autonomous institutions recieving support from the USIP including programs, network facilities, and up to 40% of their funds. The regional institutes would be able to recieve private contributions.

The Charter of the USIP prohibits the private sector from contributing to the Institute. Although I believe the reason for this change, fear of excess influence from private or foreign donors, from the recommendations of the "Report of the Commission on Proposals for the National Academy of Peace and Conflict Resolution " is sound, it was not the intention and hope of many of the supporters of the Institute. My recommendation will permit citizens to contribute to and participate in the activities of the Institute, without changing the Charter.

The "Report" of the Commission recommendeds the creation of regional centers. The formation of the Institute for Peace Development, the Hawaii Institute of Peace and the Midwest Peace Institute are three examples of independent, self generated peace institutes that could form the basis of a regional network. The Commission reports recommends the creation of from eight to fifteen regional centers. I will be submitting shortly to the Board a detailed proposal for creating a network of regional centers.

Thank you for permitting me to submit this testimony.

(Note: In the interest of economy, the background material accompanying this statement was retained in the files of the committee.)

1987 NOV -3 AM 10:17

SYRACUSE UNIVERSITY
PROGRAM ON THE ANALYSIS AND RESOLUTION OF CONFLICTS
MAXWELL SCHOOL OF CITIZENSHIP AND PUBLIC AFFAIRS
712 OSTROM AVENUE | SYRACUSE, NEW YORK 13244-4400 | 315/423-2367

October 29, 1987

The Honorable Spark M. Matsunaga
United States Senate
Washington, DC 20510

Dear Senator Matsunaga,

As a citizen and scholar concerned and working in the area of peace and security studies for almost forty years, I am pleased to share some thoughts about the United States Institute of Peace relevant to the Senate's oversight hearings. Many people have worked many years to establish the Institute and even if it has not fulfilled all our hopes, it is a start. We must expand the base that has been constructed so that it provides the foundation for a stable and effective program of activities.

I wish to testify to the contributions that the USIP has already made in my experience and then comment about proposed changes in the Institute's Charter. During my career, I have conducted research on a variety of matters pertaining to peacemaking. In the last several years, I have been studying how de-escalating efforts are initiated and what aspects of the efforts contribute to their effectiveness. Until a few years ago, my research in this area has been conducted without funding except for small grants from Syracuse University.

The last few years have seen a significant increase in support from private foundations for work in the areas of peace and security and of conflict resolution. For example, the William and Flora Hewlett Foundation has helped establish nine centers throughout the United States to develop better knowledge and skills in conflict resolution. Our Program on the Analysis and Resolution of Conflicts is one such center.

Last year, we were awarded a grant from the USIP to organize a year-long collaborative seminar on ripeness and the de-escalation of international conflicts. This seminar entails collaboration among scholars and practitioners, focussing on timing in efforts to de-escalate the U.S.-Soviet conflict. We have received related grants from other sources, for example, the John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation. Grants from each source are strengthened by the other grants. We can add resources and use them more effectively when several related projects are underway.

The USIP has a special role in this configuration. Its grants are likely to help gain the cooperation needed from busy people working in these areas. This has been our experience so far. The results of the work are also likely to have extra visibility because of the source of the funding.

Of course, this extra visibility calls for extra responsibility. Grants must be made carefully to applicants with a variety of perspectives. Innovative approaches should be supported and the recipients should generally not be linked to the persons responsible for making awards. The preparation of materials reviewing the status of the field should include representative views from a full spectrum of approaches. The USIP is uniquely able to bring people together to meet and discuss a variety of approaches and thus to stimulate public interest and involvement.

Appropriations should be increased so that awards can be given to more applicants and for longer periods of time than now is the case.

I wish to comment about three proposed changes in the USIP Charter. The current requirement of reauthorization every two years should be changed. Permanent authorization is needed to foster a long run perspective. Peace is not a utopian state that will be reached at some fixed time. It is an ongoing process.

Currently, the legislation gives the USIP access to classified information. I believe that this is an unnecessary burden and may be counterproductive, since that requires security clearances for the staff. The USIP is not supposed to be an operating agency of the U.S. Government. If a staff person requires security clearance for a particular project, it should be obtained at that time. The diversity and openess of the Institute may be reduced by a standing requirement for security clearances.

Finally, I think the legislation should be changed to allow the Institute to raise funds in the private sector. Of course, the means used in raising such funds and the uses to which they are put should be limited appropriately. Raising private funds can be a way of increasing public involvement; it should not be allowed to become a device for one or two special interests to direct the Institute policies. With appropriate rules, the effectiveness of the Institute can be greatly enhanced by diversifying its sources of support.

In conclusion, the need for the USIP is great. We need fresh ideas for dealing with intractable conflicts and we need close scrutiny of new and old policy ideas. We need the participation of all segments of our society in thinking about the advancement of peace. The USIP should be encouraged to move ahead vigorously in its tasks.

Sincerely,

Louis Kriesberg
Director

LK/as

Ok. ajl

Testimony of Albert J. Simone, President of the University of Hawaii

Senator Matsunaga and members of the Committe on Labor and Human Relations and Committe on Foreign Relations: United States Senate
October 10, 1987

The University of Hawaii has long supported Senator Mastunaga's concept of a national institution dedicated to peace education, research and information.

We were the first University to celebrate creation of the United States Institute of Peace and the first state to establish a state-wide Institute for Peace. We are proud of the great strides our Institute has taken to involve a wide spectrum of the faculty, branches of the university system and community colleges from all islands in the organization. In the first year of operations (1986-87) they built an impressive program of peace studies, visiting lectures, symposia, seminars, scholarship awards, special events and research projects.

We are aware that we are witnessing a new period of "peace consciousness" throughout the world as well as the country. We know that in this atmosphere the academic community must take an active part in forming new attitudes and seeking for new alternatives to armed conflict. We realize this demands continuing effort as well as creative initiatives. This is the reason for my statement to you today.

1) We believe the United States Institute of Peace Act which has been amended twice, should be amended again to provide permanent authorization for the Institute instead of the present requirement that your two committees should review the program every two years.

This action would provide stability for long term planning and greatly facilitate the appropriation process.

2) We are concerned that the original intent of the congressional framers of this legislation that "at least one-fourth of the Institute's annual appropriations shall be paid to such non-profit and official public institutions. (Sec. 1705-C) has been circumvented with the emphasis on individual rather than institutional applicants. The consequence of this procedure are reflected in the list of recipients for the grants program. Admittedly this makes it easier to distribute small amounts of money to numerous persons but it also makes it more difficult to seek the larger sums necessary for an imaginative and effective outreach program.

3) Finally, the Institute should place more stress on the longer term projects which promise the most significant and meaningful results. An example of such planning is the Asia-Pacific Dialogue which we have developed at the University of Hawaii. The Dialogue is based on the premise that to understand the roots of international conflict and the political, economic, social, and cultural realities of the problems, it is essential to work cooperatively and over extended periods of time with scholars from socialist as well as non-socialist countries in the Asia-Pacific region. By working outside the constraints of government policies, the project is an effort at secondtrack diplomacy.

A grant of $15,000 from the United States Institute of Peace provided seed money to help organize an International Advisory Board which was convened on July 21-22 1987 at the University of Hawaii. The Board agreed the issue of immediate concern to which this project might make a substantial contribution, would be consideration of the Korean Peninsula situation.

The decision resulted from a penetrating snalysis of the situation by the Chinese representative and the offer of the Soviet delegate to process all communication to the North Koreans through the Soviet Academy of Sciences. The first dialogue meeting is now scheduled for December 13-17 in Hawaii. Two scholars from each of the six areas immediately involved in a search for peaceful resolution of the issues have been invited to participate in this historic session. These are: Japan, People's Republic of China, Democratic People's Republic of Korea, Republic of Korea, United States of America, and Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

The success of such a project is premised on a continuing process of interaction and can only be carried out with long term support.

We believe the changes suggested above will streghthen the United States Institute of Peace and provide a stronger base of support for peace, education and research across the nation.

National Peace Institute Foundation

110 Maryland Avenue, N.E., Washington, DC 20002 202-546-9500

Thomas C. Westropp
Chairman of the Board

Advisory Board
(partial list)
Major General Leroy Anderson
U.S. Army, Ret.
Arthur Barnes
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U.S. Senate
The Honorable Helen Meyner
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Vice Admiral Ralph Weymouth
U.S. Navy, Ret.
Herman Will
United Methodist Church
Esaki W. Williams
Aspen Institute
The Honorable Andrew Young
Atlanta, Georgia

Robert J. Conlan
Executive Director

November 6, 1987

Senator Spark Matsunaga
Committee on Labor and Human Resources
U.S. Senate
Washington, D.C. 20510

Dear Senator Matsunaga,

I want to commend you for scheduling the oversight hearings on the United States Institute of Peace on November 10. It is very important that Congress continue its support and oversight of the Institute.

I am submitting for inclusion in the record of the hearings the seven issues of the Peace Institute Reporter, which covers the development and activities of the Institute since its beginning, and an Update/Chronology of the history of the legislative efforts establishing USIP.

Again congratulations on your continued support for the United States Institute of Peace.

Sincerely,

Robert J. Conlan

Encls.

BOARD OF DIRECTORS: John P. Dunfey • T. Jack Heckelman • Rev. George W. Hill • Harry J. Hogan • James H. Laue • William F. Lincoln • John G. Moore • Edward Piou • Colleen Rodgers • William Spencer • Thomas C. Westropp • Vice Admiral Ralph Weymouth • Rev. John-Alexis Viereck

National Peace Institute Foundation

110 Maryland Avenue, N.E., Washington, DC 20002 202-546-9500

THE UNITED STATES INSTITUTE OF PEACE

AN UPDATE: October, 1987

PURPOSE

Public Law 98-525, Title XVII, establishes the United States Institute of Peace as an independent, nonprofit national educational corporation with the purpose of educating the American people and the Government on means to promote international peace and the resolution of international conflicts without the use of violence. The Institute is to achieve its aims through education, training, research and the distribution of information. It may not make or implement national policy.

ORGANIZATION

1. The Law:

The Institute is controlled by a 15-member Board of Directors appointed by the President with the advice and consent of the Senate. Four members are ex-officio members: the Secretaries of State and Defense, the Director of the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency and the President of the National Defense University. Eleven members are to be private citizens with academic or practical experience in peace and conflict resolution efforts of the United States. No more than eight members of the Board may be of the same political party.

The first Chairperson of the Board is selected by the President for a three-year term. Subsequent Chairpersons are elected by the Board from among its private citizen members. The Board appoints the Institute's President who will employ appropriate staff to carry out the intent of the law.

2. Current Status:

Ten of the eleven private citizen nominations were submitted to and confirmed by Senate. The President designated John Norton Moore as Chairman of the Board.

The Senate Committee on Labor and Human Resources held a Confirmation Hearing on October 24, 1985 for eight of the private citizen nominees. Senators Stafford and Hatfield Co-Chaired the Hearing, and Senators Weicker, Wallop, Pell and Matsunaga participated. Each of the nominees expressed his intent to support the Institute and to carry out its Congressional mandate. The Senate Committee on Labor and Human Resources unanimously voted to confirm the nine nominees on December 17,1985. (Dr. Kintner's name was added to the confirmation list upon his nomination on October 31, 1985.) The next day the Senate confirmed them

by unanimous consent. The tenth Director, Mr. Leibman, was nominated on March 25, 1986 and confirmed by the Senate on May 21, 1986.

On October 1, 1987, the White House forwarded to the Senate for confirmation five reappointments for directors whose terms expired January 19, 1987 and one new nomination.

The following serve on the Board of Directors.

a. Private Citizen Members (4-year Term. Expires January 19, 1989):

1. John Norton Moore, the Institute's Chairman, is director of the Center for Law and National Security and Professor of Law at the University of Virginia. He has served as Chairman of the National Security Council Interagency Task Force on the Law of the Sea. He was recommended to the President by the National Peace Institute Foundation and the National Peace Academy Campaign.

2. Dennis L. Bark is Associate Director, Senior Fellow and Professor of History, Emeritus, at the Hoover Institution on War, Revolution and Peace. He directs its National Security Affairs Program and formerly served as Deputy Director of the Hoover Institution.

3. Evron M. Kirkpatrick is President of the American Peace Society and the Helen Dwight Reid Educational Foundation. He is a Resident Scholar at the American Enterprise Institute and formerly served as Executive Director of the American Political Science Association.

4. Willard Scott Thompson is Professor of International politics at the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy, Tufts University. He is Associate Director of Programs at the United States Information Agency, Senior Fellow at Georgetown University's Center for Strategic and International Studies, a White House Fellow, an assistant to the Secretary of Defense, and a Rhodes Scholar.

5. Allen Weinstein is Professor of History at Boston University and President of the Center for Democracy. He has also served as Acting

President of the National Endowment for Democracy, President of the Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions, Professor at Georgetown University and Editor of The Washington Quarterly.

b. Private Citizen Members (4-year Term, Expires January 19, 1991.) These directors were nominated October 1, 1987 and await Senate confirmation. (The first 5 below are renominations of sitting directors whose terms expired January 19, 1987.)

6. William R. Kintner is Professor of Political Science at the Wharton School, University of Pennsylvania. He has served as Ambassador to Thailand, President of the Foreign Policy Research Institute, published thirteen books and numerous articles on international relations and has had a twenty year career with the United States Army.

7. Sidney Lovett is a retired UCC minister. He is currently serving as interim paster at Rock Springs Congregational Church in Arlington, Virginia. He also serves on the Board of the Alban Institute and Yale Divinity School, and Directs the Foodshare Commission of Greater Hartford. Previously, he served as UCC Conference Minister for the Central Atlantic Conference.

8. Richard John Neuhaus is Director of the Rockford Institute's Center on Religion and Society and serves on the Board of the Ethics and Public Policy Center and the Institute on Religion and Democracy. He has served as a White House appointee on the White House Conference on Families and on the Ethics Advisory Committee at the United States Information Agency.

9. W. Bruce Weinrod is Director of Foreign Policy and Defense Studies at the Heritage Foundation. He is on the Board of the Foreign Student Service Council and the International Affairs Council. He has served as Legislative Director to Senator Heinz, as Manager of International Corporate Affairs at the Chase Manhattan Bank and Special Advisor to Senator Laxalt.

10. Morris I. Leibman is a partner in the firm of Sidley and Austin in Chicago, Illinois. He was previously with the firm Leibman, Williams, Bennett, Baird and Minnon. He serves on the Executive Board of the Georgetown University Center for Strategic and International Studies and as Director of The Foreign Policy Research Institute in Philadelphia.

11. Elspeth Davies Rostow is currently Stiles Professor in American Studies at the LBJ School of Public Affairs, University of Texas, Austin, Texas. She has served on the faculty of Barnard College, Sarah Lawrence College, Cambridge University, M.I.T., American University, Georgetown University, and the Foreign Service Institute. She has also served on the President's Advisory Committee for Trade Negotiations and the Commission on National Agenda for the 80's.

c. Ex-Officio Members:

12. Kenneth L. Adelman is Director of the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency.

13. Richard Schifter (designate for the Secretary of State) is Assistant Secretary of State for Human Rights and Humanitarian Affairs and also serves as the United States member of the United Nations Human Rights Commission.

14. Lt. Gen. Bradley C. Hosmer is President of the National Defense University.

15. Caspar W. Weinberger, Secretary of Defense, is on the board until he designates a replacement for former Assistant Secretary Richard Perle. He has informed the President that he will designated Frank Gaffney to this position upon his confirmation by the Senate as Assistant Secretary of Defense for International Security Policy.

FUNDING & AUTHORIZATION

1. The Law:

The United States Institute of Peace is to be funded entirely by Congress and must be reauthorized by Congress every two years. The procedures for authorization and funding are as follows:

For authorization, a bill must pass both Houses of Congress, differences are reconciled in a conference committee, the compromise bill is approved by both Houses, and it is signed into law by the President. The authorization bill carries with it a maximum amount of money that Congress can then appropriate for the Institutes operations.

For appropriations, the President's budget comes to Congress including an amount requested for the Institute, appropriations hearings are held in each House of Congress, each House approves an appropriations bill, differences between the two Houses are reconciled in conference committee, the compromise bill is passed by both Houses, and the bill is signed into law by the President.

2. Current Status:

Congress reauthorized the Institute for fiscal years (FY) 1987 and 1988 at the level of $6 million in FY 87 and $10 million in FY 88.

The President's budget for FY 1987 included $1.25 million for the United States Institute of Peace. Congress appropriated $625,000 for FY 87. Because of a unique provision in its Charter, the USIP Endowment, which allows the Institute to transfer unexpended money to this entity at the end of a fiscal year, the Institute had approximately $4.2 million for FY 87 operations.

The President's budget for FY 1988 included $3.3 million for USIP. The House Appropriations Committee recommended funding at that level. On the House floor Rep. Walker (R-Pa.) deleted all funding for the Institute. The Senate Appropriations Committee has recommended $5 million for USIP for FY 1988 and that amount was voted by the full Senate. The Institute expects a carry over of about $300,000 from FY 87.

FUTURE CONGRESSIONAL ACTION

1. The Law:

Beginning two years after the Act was signed into law (and every two years thereafter), the Chairman of the Institute's Board must report to the Congress and President on the progress of the Institute in carrying out its mandate. After receipt of this report by Congress, the House Committees on Foreign Affairs and Education and Labor, and the Senate Committees on Labor and Human Resources and Foreign Relations, shall hold hearings to review the findings and recommendations of such reports.

HISTORICAL SUMMARY

1. Introduction:

The United States Institute of Peace represents the realization of Americans at all levels of society that national security is enhanced by increasing the ability of leaders to resolve international disputes at the table, before conditions deteriorate to such a point that military action becomes unavoidable.

In 1975, a citizen Ad Hoc Committee for a National Peace Academy was formed in Washington. In 1976, these citizens founded the National Peace Academy Campaign with several hundred members. Its purpose was to urge Congress to take action on the idea of a Peace Academy. By 1984, when the President signed the United States Institute of Peace Act, the Campaign had grown to a 45,000 member organization and had the official support of 57 nation-wide organizations as well as 14 state legislatures.

2. Historical Landmarks:

1975: Senators Vance Hartke (D-IN) and Mark Hatfield (R-OR) introduce a bill to create a George Washington Peace Academy.

1978: Congress authorizes the creation of a United States Commission on Proposals for a National Academy of Peace and Conflict Resolution.

1979: The Commission is organized. The Chairman is Senator Spark Matsunaga (D-HI). The Vice Chairman is Dr. James Laue, Director of the Center for Metropolitan Studies at the University of Missouri-St. Louis, and member of the Board of Directors of the National Peace Academy Campaign.

1980: The Commission conducts hearings in 12 cities nation-wide and takes testimony from over 300 witnesses. It favors the establishment of a Peace Academy by an 8:1 vote and submits an interim report to President Carter and Congress.

1981: The Commission submits its Final Report to Congress, To Establish the United States Academy of Peace. Bills based on this report are introduced in both Houses of Congress. In the Senate, Spark Matsunaga (D-HI), Mark Hatfield (R-OR), and Jennings Randolph (D-WV) are

principal sponsors. In the House, Dan Glickman (D-KS) is principal sponsor.

1982: April 21: Hearings are held before the Senate Education, Arts and Humanities Subcommittee.

July 15: Hearings are held before the House Committees on Foreign Affairs and Education and Labor. The number of representatives co-sponsoring the bill rises to 138.

July 19: The Senate bill passes the Labor and Human Resources Committee by a 10:6 vote. It has the support of 56 Senate co-sponsors.

1983: February 3: Representatives Dan Glickman (D-KS) and Sylvio Conte (R-MA) re-introduce the bill in the House (H.R. 1249).

February 23: Senators Spark Matsunaga (D-HI), Mark Hatfield (R-OR), and Jennings Randolph (D-WV) re-introduce a bill in the Senate (S. 564).

July 20: The Labor and Human Resources Committee amends the Peace Academy bill and approves it by an 11:6 vote.

1984: June 21: The Senate passes Bill S. 564 as an amendment to the 1985 Defense Authorization Bill, by voice vote, as Title XVII of H.R. 5167.

September 25: Title XVII is passed by the House-Senate Conference Committee on the Defense Bill.

September 26 and 27: The Conference Report passes the House and the Senate by voice vote, through the support of 55 Senate and 177 House co-sponsors.

October 10, 11 and 12: The House and Senate appropriate $4 million as start up funds for the Institute in an amendment to the Continuing Resolution (H.J. Res. 648) and the President signs it into law as Public Law 98-473.
October 19: The President signs H.R. 5167 into law as Public Law 98-525. The United States Institute of Peace Act is Title XVII of this law.

1985: January 4: The President defers funds for the Institute pending its organization, appointment of its Board of Directors, selection of a location, and designation of its legal entity (the Endowment).

February 4: The President's FY 1986 Budget includes the Institute with the estimate that the Institute will obligate $1 million in FY 1985 and $3 million in FY 1986. The President does not request any additional appropriation for FY 1986.

April 12: The Department of State proposes 17 amendments to the Institute's Charter. If accepted by Congress, these amendments would convert the Institute from an independent national educational institution into a very small grant-giving agency under the control of the State Department.

April 18: Representatives Dan Glickman (D-KS) and Newt Gingrich (R-GA) send a letter to President Reagan, noting the deadline of April 20th specified by law for the Institute's Board of Directors.

April 20: The statutory deadline of April 20th for submission of Presidential nominees for the Institute's Board of Directors passes without the President taking action.

April 24: Twenty-four Senators send a letter to President Reagan, urging compliance with the law concerning nominations for the Institute's Board of Directors.

May 8: Congress passes a Sense-of-Congress Resolution presented by Representative Dan Glickman (D-KS): "It is the sense of the Congress that, pursuant to Title XVII of P.L. 98-525, nominations to the Board of Directors of the U.S. Institute of Peace should be submitted to the Senate without delay to permit implementation of the Congressional mandate."

May 21: Eighty-five Representatives send a letter to President Reagan urging him to comply with the law by nominating the Institute's Board of Directors.

June 3: The Senate Appropriations Committee votes an amendment to the Spring Supplemental H.R. 2577 disapproving the President's deferral of funds for the Institute.

June 21: The Senate disapproves the President's deferral of funds for the Institute.

July 16: Senator Mark Hatfield (R-OR) urges the President from the Senate floor to nominate the Institute's Board of Directors and gives warning that Senate confirmation procedures should not be by-passed by making appointments to the Board during the August Senate recess.

July 22: Senator Robert Stafford (R-VT), Chairman of the Subcommittee on Education, Arts and Humanities, writes a letter to President Reagan requesting his nominees immediately -- before Senate recess in August. He declares unacceptable that nominations be submitted as recess appointments.

July 31, August 1: The House and Senate disapprove the Presidential deferral of Institute funds in an amendment to the Spring Supplemental (H.R. 2577).

August 1: The President submits to the Senate four of eleven nominees for the Institute's Board of Directors. In addition, he indicates those who will occupy the positions of ex-officio members: Sidney Lovett, Richard John Neuhaus, W. Bruce Weinrod, John Norton Moore, Kenneth L. Adelman, Max M. Kampelman and Richard N. Perle.

September 16: The President submits to the Senate two additional nominees for the Institute's Board of Directors: Dennis L. Bark and Evron M. Kirkpatrick.

October 3: The President submits to the Senate one additional nominee for the Institute's Board of Directors: W. Scott Thompson. In addition, he designates John Norton Moore as the first Chairman of the Board of Directors.

October 8: The President submits to the Senate one additional nominee for the Institute's Board of Directors: Allen Weinstein.

October 24: Confirmation hearings for the Institute's Board of Directors are held by the Senate Committee on Labor and Human Resources, Co-Chaired by Senators Stafford and Hatfield.

October 31: The President submits to the Senate one additional nominee for the Institute's Board of Directors: William R. Kintner.

December 17: The Senate Labor and Human Resource Committee unanimously votes to confirm the nine nominees to the United States Institute of Peace Board of Directors.

December 18: The Senate confirms the nine nominees to the United States Institute of Peace Board of Directors by unanimous consent.

1986:

February 25 and 26: The Board of Directors of the United States Institute of Peace meets for the first time. They are sworn in by Chief Justice Warren Burger, and meet with President Reagan and Secretary of State Shultz. Robert F. Turner, former Principal Deputy Assistant Secretary for Legislation and Intergovernmental Affairs is selected as President for one year to begin organizing the Institute.

March 25: The President submits to the Senate one additional nominee for the Institute's Board of Directors: Morris I. Leibman.

April 22 & 23: USIP Chairman John Norton Moore and President Robert F. Turner testify before the Subcommittee on Labor, Human Services, Education and Related Agencies of the House Appropriations Committee on April 22, 1986 and before the Subcommittee on Labor, Health and Human Services and Education of the Senate Committee on Appropriations on April 23.

April 30: Richard Schifter replaces Max Kampelman as the Department of State designate on the Board of Directors.

May 15: Congressman Dan Glickman, with eight co-sponsors, introduces re-authorization legislation into the House of Representatives (HR.4821).

May 21: The Senate confirms Morris I. Leibman to the Board of Directors.

June 3: Senator Spark Matsunaga, with 59 co-sponsors, attaches re-authorization of the United States Institute of Peace as an amendment to the Senate Higher Education Bill (Amendment No. 1986, S.1965).

June: Senate Bill 1965 passes the Senate.

September: Lt. General Bradley Hosmer becomes president of the National Defense University, replacing Lt. General Lawrence on the United States Institute of Peace Board of Directors.

The Higher Education Bill, with reauthorization of USIP passes House-Senate Conference Committee. The Conference Report passed both Houses of Congress.

The Senate Appropriations Committee approves $1.25 million for USIP in FY 87.

October: A House-Senate Conference Committee appropriates $625,000 for FY 87 for the Institute. The Conference Report passes both Houses of Congress. The President signs both the reauthorization legislation and the appropriations legislation.

1987: March 3 & April 8: USIP Chairman John Norton Moore and President Robert F. Turner testify before the Subcommittee on Labor, Health and Human Services and Education of the Senate Committee on Appropriations on March 3 and before the Subcommittee on Labor, Human Services, Education and Related Agencies of the House Appropriations Committee on April 8 requesting support for $10 million appropriation for FY 88.

July 21: The Board of Directors of USIP announced the selection of Samuel W. Lewis, former Ambassador to Israel as the new president of USIP. He will assume his duties November 1, 1987.

August 5: Robert Walker (R-Pa.) amended the House appropriations bill to "zero-out" the United States Institute of Peace for fiscal 1988. The amended bill passed the House of Representatives.

September 18: The Labor, Health and Human Resources Subcommittee of the Senate Appropriations Committee voted $4 million for USIP.

October 1: The full Senate Appropriations Committee voted $5 million for USIP.

October 14: The full Senate voted $5 million for USIP for FY 88.

(Note: Due to printing limitations, copies of the Peace Institute Reporter were retained in the files of the committee.)

Prepared by the National Peace Institute Foundation.

REPLY TO WASHINGTON ADDRESS

November 10, 1987

The Honorable Spark Matsunaga
Member, US Senate Committee on Labor and Human Resources
Washington, DC 20510

Dear Senator Matsunaga:

I am writing this letter to you regarding the US Institute of Peace with the hope that it can be inserted in the legislative record for your hearing scheduled today.

Churches across the country worked hard a few years back to establish a US Peace Academy. While the US Institute of Peace had more limited objectives than we hoped, we viewed it as a positive first step.

We were extremely disappointed to see the first Board of the Institute loaded with people opposed to its objectives. We were also discouraged with the first round of grants made by the Institute. They reflected the hard, ideologically right position of the majority of the Board, and, in our judgment, would do more to continue and accelerate the Cold War than to seek new methodologies and approaches to peace.

We have expressed these concerns to the Peace Institute and to various members of Congress.

We do feel that the Peace Institute has done some things right. For example, it has worked to establish its independence from the Administration, in order to free itself from narrow political agendas. We encourage even greater independence.

We have been most pleased to see that later grants made by the Institute have been more balanced, going to groups on many different points on the political spectrum.

We feel the Peace Institute has a long way to go.

But 40 years ago the scientists who invented the weapons of mass destruction noted that very soon we would have to expend equal energy to developing institutions of peace. We urge you keep the Institute alive now as a step in that direction.

Sincerely yours,

Jay Lintner
Director, Washington Office

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YVONNE V. DELK
Executive Director

BENNIE E. WHITEN
Chairperson

SPSSI

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November 5, 1987

The Honorable Spark Matsunaga
U. S. Senate
Room 109 Hart Office Building
Washington, D. C.

Dear Senator:

The Society for the Psychological Study of Social Issues has been following with interest the development of the U.S. Institute of Peace (USIP), an organization that you helped to establish. After a slow start, the USIP has done a good job in setting up a grants program and selecting the first Jennings Randolph Fellows. The staff of the USIP and its Board of Directors have worked diligently to keep the institute non-political and non-partisan. While we have had some concerns about the representativeness of the Board and the small percentage of grants and fellowships going to social scientists, we have generally been satisfied with the work that has been done. The appointment of Ambassador Lewis as the new President of the USIP and the nomination of Elspeth Rostow to the Board bode well for the future.

Our major concern as a long-time supporter of the USIP is not with what has been accomplished, but with what has not. As you well know, the Institute called for in the Congressional legislation was "to serve the people and the Government through the widest possible range of education and training, basic and applied research opportunities, and peace information services...". Given its current budget and staff, it is impossible for the USIP to fulfill this mandate. Instead, its programs resemble those of the grant-giving agency envisioned by the Department of State in its April, 1986, efforts to curtail the scope of the Institute. This is certainly not the Peace Institute that we have supported, nor is it what we think you and the Congress intended.

The Society for the Psychological Study of Social Issues
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In order to provide the USIP with the budget and staff to carry out all of its legislated functions, we would like to go on record as recommending that the Congress establish a permanent authorization for the USIP and make some provision for the Institute to raise funds in the private sector.

We also believe that it is incumbent on the Congress to provide the kind of fiscal support that is needed to give the USIP the opportunity to become the force for achieving a more peaceful world that you had in mind. We support the $5,000,000 voted by the Senate for fiscal 19[illegible] although realizing that this is not nearly enough to set up the research, training, education and information services called for in Title XVII of Public Law 98-525. The $10,000,000 recommended by the USIP's Board of Directors would be closer to the funding needed to allow Ambassador Lewis to meet the charge you have given him. We recognize the need for fiscal responsibility in this political era, but do not feel that the modest budget of the USIP is the right place for conservativism.

Best wishes in your work,

Dr. Jeffrey Z. Rubin PK

Dr. Jeffrey Z. Rubin, President

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Washington, D.C. Regional Group

A STATEMENT FOR THE JOINT OVERSIGHT HEARINGS ON THE U.S. INSTITUTE OF PEACE

COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS
COMMITTEE ON LABOR AND HUMAN RESOURCES
UNITED STATES SENATE
100TH CONGRESS

BY DR. PAUL R. KIMMEL

Many of the long-time supporters of the U.S. Institute of Peace (USIP) watched with some skepticism as the first Board of Directors and President of the Institute took office and began to shape the organization created by the Congress in 1984. We were not sure that men selected for the Board by the Administration would carry out the mandate that the Legislature had given them. As one such supporter who has attended most of the Board meetings, I have been generally pleased with the work that they have done. I believe that the Board and Institute staff have worked diligently to keep the Institute non-political and non-partisan and that they have done a good job in setting up the grants program and in selecting the first Jennings Randolph Fellows and their second President.

My major concern today is not with what has been accomplished in the first months of the Institute's history, but with what has not. In my testimony for the 1984 Senate hearings on the U.S. Academy of Peace (now the USIP), I commented on the importance of the in-house research and training called for in the legislation. I stressed the opportunities that the establishment of the Institute would provide for carrying out applied research on the experiences of international leaders in negotiation and conflict resolution; and for developing from such research, training programs for mid-career professionals whose work involves dealing with international conflicts. I emphasized the great need for such programs given the lack of training in peacemaking that our negotiators and diplomats currently receive.

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As Chairman Moore noted in his testimony, the USIP's new President, Ambassador Samuel W. Lewis, is very interested in the subject of negotiator training. His international experience has made him well-aware of the need for negotiators with skills in conflict management. He stated in his testimony to this oversight committee that our diplomats get little training in the skills of peacemaking. His interest in helping diplomats and negotiators do a better job and the Congressional mandate to the USIP to develop research-based, interdisciplinary, international training programs in conflict management for these professionals offer exciting possibilities for the future.

To date, the USIP has not undertaken these (or any other) in-house research or training programs, partly due to other priorities, but mainly because its budget has not allowed such programs. In letters to the Congress, many USIP supporters including myself and two of the organizations with which I am associated, the American Psychological Association and the Society for the Psychological Study of Social Issues, have recommended the establishment of a permanent authorization for the USIP, provisions for the Institute to raise funds in the private sector and a budget that will allow the Institute to carry out all of its legislated functions.

As our experience in the earlier hearings on the USIP legislation has shown, there will be influential critics of increased funding and of the proposed training programs. We hope that the Institute's record of integrity, evenhandedness, nonpartisanship, independence and intellectual excellence (which Chairman Moore has documented in his testimony) will preclude or at least lessen some of this criticism. To supplement this record, I would like to take a moment to address these critics by reiterating the role that the USIP could play in training negotiators in peace-making. This role was recommended by the Committee on Labor and Human Resource in its 1983 report on the U.S. Academy of Peace bill: "the committee expects the Academy

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to make every effort to (1) use relevant information in research and training efforts; (2) construct training programs for use by those who are responsible for contributing to the nation's foreign and domestic policy ... and (3) make ... findings available to people who might use such information to effect a policy change conducive to peaceful resolution of conflict". (Calendar No. 409, September 27, 1983, p. 21).

Current research on the processes of conflict, and the successes of trained negotiators in resolving community, racial, industrial and other domestic conflicts indicates that international research, training and information programs could be developed to help nations better manage their inevitable conflicts without resorting to violence or coercion. The USIP could facilitate the adaptation of the models and techniques of domestic conflict management to the international level and provide the impartial assessment of the use of those techniques so necessary to any progress in the understanding of human behavior.

The USIP as legislated by the Congress should have: (1) a center where international leaders and scholars would analyze and discuss their experiences and ideas regarding international conflict management; (2) a library where all of the ideas and information on peacemaking from around the world would be translated and made available to all interested parties through computerized networks; (3) researchers to undertake empirical examinations of the available data on international conflicts and negotiations to increase our understanding of the events and behaviors which promote and inhibit violence and co-operation among nations and their representatives; (4) trainers who can develop the information provided by the researchers and the leaders and scholars into practical training and residency programs that would teach professionals working or about to work in international affairs how to avert, modify or mediate international conflicts to reduce violence

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and increase co-operation; (5) assessment programs that would evaluate the effectiveness of the training programs as they are put into practice by foreign and domestic negotiators; (6) a clearinghouse that would publish and disseminate the findings of all the USIP programs to better inform the public and professionals on how to deal with conflicts in ways which will increase understanding and co-operation.

The function of these USIP programs would be to ascertain which strategies are empirically most effective in promoting common, international interests; developing co-operation among nations; and averting coercion and violence. The knowledge gained would be available to all people so that everyone could learn how to reduce the tendency to resort to force or violence when responding to perceived threats. This would be a unique contribution of the USIP to international security. I hope that the Congress will provide the support necessary to make this vital program of research and training in international negotiation a reality.

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TESTIMONY

of Hugh N. Pease

on

The U.S.Institute of Peace

before the

Senate Labor and Human Relations Committee

and the

Senate Foreign Relations Committee

November 10, 1987

8129 Wellington Rd.
Alexandria VA 22308
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Mr. Chairman and members of the Committee. I am Hugh M. Pease, formerly a sustaining member of the National Peace Academy Campaign; currently a member of the National Peace Institute Foundation and Chair of the Research and Publication Committee of its new Southeastern Region and currently a member of the National Capital Presbytery Committee on Peacemaking. This testimony is my own and does not represent either organization.

My testimony is based on help the Institute has given me, my own experience as an executive, my participation as an observer at Institute Board meetings and colloquia and a careful review of the excellent 1987 Biennial Report of the Institute. I feel that the report should be used in every university peace studies program and be in every library, every peace organization and in the hands of every senior negotiator. Specific comments and recommendations keyed to the report will be found in Appendix A.

I am a retired civilian executive of the Office Chief of Staff Army where I worked on worldwide program development in the personnel management, training and management fields. My career included cross cultural program development with the Iranian General Staff; membership in the Army Human Factors Research Advisory Committee which monitored a multi-million dollar human research effort; research findings application in system development, training and teambuilding; middle management training and consulting.

With library and computer search assistance arranged through the Institute with the National Defense University, I am beginning to research a book on the peace process with a focus on the positive aspects of peace which are coming to be called peacebuilding.(See Appendix B, The Peace Triad: Peacekeeping, Peacemaking and Peacebuilding; Appendix C, Positive Pieces of Peace and Appendix D, International Conference on Peacebuilding). I am finding that peace is indeed more than the absence of war and that a negative state of calm may be only a partial goal.

Military doctrine holds that war is an admission of the failure of the peace process. We all know the long history of such failure and the need for somehow improving that process.

One peace process that is emerging appears to be a group process, similar to the collegial process of an interdisciplinary group but including opponents. A thought provoking insight from one source is that one cannot have true peace without the cooperation of the enemy.

I would like to call to your attention, Mr. Chairman, the following statement from page 20 of the 1987 report regarding the processing of grant applications. It speaks volumes about the constructive attitude of the Board itself:

> "As a collateral benefit, the deliberative process has proved to be a useful learning device for the Board itself, most particularly when the ideas put forward are unique or highly original.

This says to me that the Board's 'group mind' is open, growing and mellowing. My observation is that both conservatives and liberals on the Board may be becoming moderates, with a broadened approach replacing any former single track positions members may have held. The Board has apologized for moving slowly. I commend them instead for taking the time and trouble to "season in".

This group process of seasoning in and bonding is itself a subject for peace research, especially as it affects long term commission negotiation of treaties such as the Law of the Sea Commission. A summit meeting may, in contrast, be an example of a lack of time for such seasoning, broadening and bonding. The group process may well belong on the Institute's Map of Peace and expertise in it on the Institute's staff.

In the peace process, the initial objective of a negotiating group may not be agreement or a compromise between hardened positions. It may be to piece together all available information about the situation or problem confronting the group in order to build a picture as near to total reality as possible. It is

like detective work, an intelligence mosaic, a jig-saw puzzle or a systems analysis of a system that is moving in several dimensions and directions of interaction. The assumption is that total reality is usually greater than or different from initial perceptions of it by any party - as in the classic examples of an iceberg, a small tree with spreading roots or the five blind men who felt different parts of the elephant - a tree trunk; a snake; a rug etc. Initial positions are therefore dangerous. It is in breaking these early frames of reference that heretofore unknown options may be found. A case example of the many bits of information needed, What Went Wrong in Iran, is attached as Appendix E.

The probability of bits outside of our usual initial 'tunnel' frames of reference is assumed, as is the probability of emotional, irrational or malfunctioning bits. Initial positions are set aside or treated as bits for the mosaic. Obvious gaps in the mosaic are followed up to see if bits that fit exist. Bits that don't fit suggest a larger picture or system (See Mary Parker Follett, Dynamic Administration. Collected Papers edited by Metcalf and Urwick. Harper and Row.New York. 1940)

Once the mosaic appears to resolve into a picture, it is examined for possible options, especially so-called 'win-win' options on which opposing parties can agree to work together toward common goals. Absent such options, compromise positions are still negotiable. Once the overview picture is built and options developed, negotiation proceeds normally.

This tentative peace process builds on the Scientific Process and on the work of Follett, Kurt Lewin, Rensis Likert's Group Dynamics, John McNamara's Systems Analysis and Roger Fisher's and William Ury's "Getting to Yes" from the Harvard Negotiation Project. "Getting to Yes" is available in most bookstores. The 'peace process' I am suggesting may go beyond these in that hypothesizing is not left to brainstorming. It comes from an overview stage of bit processing and full picturebuilding.

The process is very different from the more usual adversarial confrontation and compromise based on less than full picture areas of common ground. It resembles a settlement out of court rather than a trial. A fuller description will be found in Appendix F, The Joint Exploration (Picturebuilding) Process.

The fact that the process that is emerging is a group process has both advantages and dangers. It opens up peace research to include the already partially developed fields of Group Dynamics and Teambuilding and such practices as the Japanese Quality Circle (Freeman Dyson). It calls for the development of a new Freedom - Freedom of Membership- in which individuals can join a group or opt for free enterprise. It is non-violent and reduces the roadblocks of adversarial confrontation. It is moral and would appear to reduce opposition on the grounds of morality without yielding to a 'patsy' approach. It is flexible enough to use in unique and diagnostic situations. It can be used for lesser conflicts and even in non-conflict problem solving.

Disadvantages are: that it raises the spectre of totalitarian or Communist group control; it will not work when one opponent refuses to let another even partially win, as with Iran and Iraq; there is a confused resistance to widening the definition of peace beyond the centuries old one of'an absence of war',which is like saying that light is an absence of darkness and good is the absence of sin rather than the presence of difference making; there is a great natural resistance to moving confrontation from the first to the last step by exploring differences first - a problem as old as the Bible scripture,"and having done all,to stand" (Eph 6:13) - so that one naturally chooses to 'fight injustice' rather than to 'build justice';it is seen as verbal and therefore weak. I share this last feeling and would not want to drop a reasonable guard until the verbal process proves to be successful and dependable. But I also realize that my guard is just a holding action that is nearing its cost and effectiveness limitations.

In my study of peace, I have found that there is a rather widespread objection to peacemaking on the basis that "peace is "against human nature". This was also said of human flight and the freeing of slaves.

In thinking about this objection, I made a detailed list of over 100 human traits that apparently relate to peace. Instead of being frightening, the list proved reassuring. While the pile was high, the individual stones that formed it were less formidable. Some of the favorable traits could be enhanced. Many gains in understanding negative ones have been made in my lifetime. Many have common factors, such as surface-skimming impatience or excitement seeking. The latter runs from the knights of old and Ulysses down to dragracing or Type A setting of driving schedules to require fast driving/to keep in order a 'buzz' on. Excitement may even be addictive by releasing drugs internally to get a 'high' as in gambling, sex addiction or TV viewing. The latter may even condition our kids to seek an emotional 'fix'.The good side is that most of these traits seem researchable and educable. One road to peace may thus lie in studying human nature rather than accepting it as a given.

If the peace process does indeed include picturebuilding, then the new area of left brain/right brain research may be germane. The left brain appears to process verbal symbols in a linear logic. The right brain appears to visualize non-verbal pictures. Whether or not the right brain also visualizes systems and abstract 'pictures' is still an unknown. Women's intuition may have more of a basis in problem solving than we have realized if it is a picturing of a total situation from many angles at once, including human aspects. We found their ability to visualize systems whole very valuable in tool design work during WW II when we needed engineers elsewhere. (See M.Gazzaniga, The Social Brain. Basic Books 1985)

I have found the Institute to be interested and helpful in my book research work and to be moving in a somewhat similar direction. It has also moved quickly to act on those of my sug-

gestions it has accepted. For example: a Board member was a fellow speaker at the May 1986 International Conference on Peacebuilding (Appendix C). He liked my suggestion to bring the sponsors of an Irish cross-border Track II peacebuilding effort to a meeting of the Board. This was done in June at its next meeting. A meeting with the Institute staff member in charge of their developing Intellectual Map of Peace to consider some of the positive aspects I have found for possible inclusion has been briefly postponed to let me draft this testimony. My suggestions for talent searching - leader list location;'meaning pay' attraction; job problem interviewingand seminar selection - have been well received by the staff in charge of selecting Randolph Fellows (See Appendix G) The Board has expressed a strong interest that these fellows represent new and innovative approaches as well as present practices. Such people are rarely in the market. They are usually busy on rewarding work. They have to be found and pried loose to get them to apply.

I am also finding, of course, that the peace initiative has been polarized and splintered into a number of advocacy groups. Because of setbacks, apathy is beginning to replace initial excitement. Many of these groups, while well intended, believe in a single approach, and often image each other badly. Some do not seem to realize that their approaches are parallel and might work better as a single broader front. As a member of three groups - one secular; one religious and one military - I sometimes find myself in a crossfire. Some religious associates see my secular work as 'humanist' and my military associations as 'consorting with the enemy'. Some of my secular associates see my religious work as 'unprofessional'.

Some of the military people dare not work with me openly because of the common assumption that peace advocacy is automatically anti-military. It has been my as yet unachieved hope that the positive,'win-win' option that I am working on would prove to be one that all could support. We need so badly to join forces amd to make common cause in order to eneble a third course to succed and to enable our political structure to support it. I feel that all parties have insights to contribute that are needed for a unified effort and a full picturebuilding solution.

This is especially true of the military. Behind their primary role of peacekeeping, they have played an active role in peacebuilding. They remade Japan from a semi-feudal serfdom into a successful modern democracy after WWII (See T.Cohen, Remaking Japan, Macmillan Free Press, 1987). They retrained an authoritarian German bureaucracy in democratic management (I helped to develop some of the training). They helped to sponsor Track II diplomacy in Europe to help 'clear the decks' of old hatreds so that former enemies could address the future together under the Marshall Plan and build the European Economic Community. War between France and Germany is unlikely today where post WWi diplomacy had made WWII almost inevitable. The military have learned to work across cultural differences with both the leader elite and middle levels, having trained as many as half of our present Third World leaders. They know teambuilding and are trained in and use modern democratic management methods, including precursors of the Japanese Quality Circle. They could become a tremendous resource if we can overcome the unfair image they have been given by anti-war peacemakers. They don't want

war but believe in containment through strength. They have done work in democracy building that peacemakers would give their eye teeth to claim. Peace professionals tell me (Rummel) that no two true democracies have ever gone to war with each other.

One example of military problem solving is especially germane since it parallels the peace process problem. In WWII, the quit rate among civilian employees of the military, numbering over a million, went to an annual 114%. It was like recruiting into a sieve. The Pentagon was half jestingly termed "a tank from which ability constantly leaked out at the seams while mediocrity gradually sank to the top". The jest was half true because the ablest people were also the most able to move to better jobs.

This problem was first attacked as one of conflict containment and resolution, since an abnormal quit rate is a form of employee-management conflict. A freeze on transfers was introduced, as was counselor intervention into individual cases. These moves helped but did not solve the problem. New cases swamped the shorthanded counseling staff like an Augean stable. Pre-conflict preventive follow up intervention for new employees helped, but good counseling was a hard to find, hard to train capability - as hard to find as good negotiators.

We borrowed the teambuilding concept used by the military, making each leader responsible not only responsible for production but for the quality and morale of his team. Morale is just a single word for a low incidence of conflict and a high incidence

of enthusiastic teamwork.We trained the leaders in teambuilding.

We found that quits started with exaggerated promises during hiring. Lack of orientation and poor training compounded the problem. Good training requires a series of gradually increasing successes. Initial training helps, but new employees who 'know all the answers' take six months or so to 'learn all the questions.' That is the time to train them if you can pry them loose for training. Lack of leadership training gave us supervisors who used up or burned out potentially able people. Lack of recognition and Quality Circle like participation in work process improvement cut what we called 'rosy pay' or meaning pay. It takes both money pay and meaning pay to attract and hold talent. The promotion system was redesigned to keep critical organizations filled by moving talent up through them as it developed.

Helped by end of war reductions, quits came down to a more normal 14%. In a few cases, quits went so low that organizations stagnated and we discovered the principle of program balance - zero is not always the goal. Over 50 industrial corporations requested our program materials.

We learned that quits are often a symptom of a lack of positive teambuilding - just as scurvey was found to be only a symptom of a lack of vitamin C. We continued to use all three approaches: remedial after conflicts developed; preventive follow ups and constructive teambuilding to create a more conflict free condition. Doctors use the same three approaches in curing and pre-

venting illness and in building wellness.

I am beginning to suspect that international conflict may be similar - a symptom of a failure to build world wellness. If this conjecture holds true, hardened conflicts may not be the only or even the best place to begin to address the problem of peace. We may wish to consider conflict resolution forward toward peaceable progress as well as backward to a state of calm.

We may want to act on positive peacebuilding before conflict develops or hardens into adversarial confrontation or violence. The peace process may not need to wait to begin until conflict develops. One exception is that it sometimes takes a problem to jolt our complacency and get action started.

CONCLUSIONS:

1. Peace is indeed more than the absence of war. It has a significant positive side. Peacebuilding warrants study.

2. Growing peace is as important as resolving conflict, just as adding light is as important as fighting darkness.

3. Just pulling the 'weeds' of war won't grow the Garden of peace. The weeds will just come back to the bare ground.

4. Peace is a group process, opening the way for group research as a part of peace research.

5. A group approach has dangers (as in Communism).These are not insurmountable. Freedom of Membership with freedom to opt for Free Enterprise is needed. It is largely present here.

6.War is an admission of the failure of the Peace Process.

We have a long history of such failure.

7. An absence of peacebuilding may be as responsible for this failure as the presence of arms.

8. The containment of violence approach appears to be nearing its cost and effectiveness limitations.

9. The verbal approach needs to be strengthened and tested before conflict containment can be reduced.

10. Peace advocates need to work out a broadened, forward moving approach that will unify our efforts.

RECCOMMENDATIONS:

1. Reauthorize the Institute as a permanent, independent corporation. It has earned it.

2. Widen its goal (Intellectual Map) to include the positive peacebuilding concept and the group peace process concept as full map categories. Permit it to go beyond conflict resolution.

3.Continue to manage the Institute as a Solution Mission Organization (See Appendix H for description).Fund it for the field liaison work described in Appendix A and for a strong interdiciplinary talent pool.

4. Sponsor a second conference on Peacebuilding (See Appendix D). Use the picturebuilding group process for it(Appendix F) rather than the usual presentation of initial position papers.

5.Survey the literature, published and 'dead in the files' for /positive bits of the Map and process them for an overview mosaic. Include the new categories recommended. Can contract this.

6. Develop a forward moving public image to attract talent and support.

Thank you for the opportunity to present this testimony.

11

(Note: In the interest of economy, the appendix material accompanying this statement was retained in the files of the committee.)

American Psychological Association

Advancing psychology as a science, a profession, and as a means of promoting human welfare

November 24, 1987

The Honorable Spark M. Matsunaga
United States Senate
SH-109 Hart Senate Office Building
Washington, D.C. 20510

Dear Senator Matsunaga,

I am writing on behalf of APA's 87,000 members to submit testimony to the Oversight Committee on the U. S. Institute of Peace. The United States Institute of Peace has reached a milestone by releasing its first biennial report. This is a time for reviewing past accomplishments and for considering future potentials and improvements. The American Psychological Association firmly supports the concept and mission of the U.S.I.P. APA observes the activities of the Institute with great interest. I wish to take this opportunity to share with the Committee the enclosed testimony which details our congratulations and concerns.

Sincerely yours,

Leonard D. Goodstein, Ph.D.
Executive Vice President &
Chief Executive Officer

1200 Seventeenth Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20036
(202) 955-7600

Advancing psychology as a science, a profession, and as a means of promoting human welfare

STATEMENT OF

LEONARD D. GOODSTEIN. PH.D.

EXECUTIVE VICE PRESIDENT AND CHIEF EXECUTIVE OFFICER

American Psychological Association

Washington, D.C. 20036

on behalf of the

THE AMERICAN PSYCHOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION

before the

UNITED STATES SENATE

Committee on Labor and Human Resources

and

Committee on Foreign Relations

on the subject of

JOINT OVERSIGHT HEARING ON THE UNITED STATES INSTITUTE OF PEACE

November 24, 1987

The Honorable Spark M. Matsunaga, Chair

1200 Seventeenth Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20036
(202) 955-7600

It is my pleasure to provide this statement on behalf of the American Psychological Association for this oversight hearing on the United States Institute of Peace.

As a long-time supporter of the establishment of a U.S. Peace Academy, we felt considerable satisfaction when Congress passed the legislation authorizing the U.S. Institute of Peace. Our satisfaction was replaced by concern when President Reagan first delayed appointing members to the U.S.I.P.'s Board of Directors and then appointed a Board with primarily military backgrounds. We have, however, been generally pleased with the work the Board and the U.S.I.P. staff have done. They have carefully kept the U.S.I.P. non-partisan and non-political. The U.S.I.P. has implemented an effective grants program and selected eminent scholars as the first Jennings Randolph Fellows. The appointment of Ambassador Lewis as the next President of the U.S.I.P. and the nomination of Elspeth Rostow to the Board bode well for the future. Overall, the U.S.I.P. has admirably managed the start-up phase of a new institute.

As the U.S.I.P. develops and grows, however, our concerns shift to new issues. Growth and development introduce new problems and new opportunities. Of most concern to us are the opportunities to develop and deliver training programs in negotiation. The Congressional mandate for the U.S.I.P. is to "serve the people and the Government through the widest possible range of education and training, basic and applied research opportunities, and peace information services...." To date, the U.S.I.P. has not undertaken the education and training portion of its mandate.

Ambassador Lewis testified to this oversight committee that American diplomats receive little training in the skills of negotiation and conflict management. Congress intended for the U.S.I.P. to develop and provide such training. The 1983 Committee on Labor and Human Resource report on the U.S. Academy of Peace bill directed "the Academy to make every effort to (1) use relevant information in research and training efforts; (2) construct training programs for use by those who are responsible for contributing to the nation's foreign and domestic policy ... and (3) make ... findings available to peolpe who might use such information to effect a policy change conducive to peaceful resolution of conflict." (Calendar No. 409, September 27, 1983, p. 21)

We believe the U.S.I.P. has used it scarce resources wisely and set correct priorities for its start-up phase of operations. If the U.S.I.P. is to develop into a mature organization, however, it must be given the resources to enable it to set new priorities, respond to new opportunities and to implement its Congressional mandate. The American Psychological Association recommends that Congress appropriate sufficient funding to allow the institute to carry out all of its legislated functions and to authorize the institute to raise funds in the private sector. Given the institute's current miniscule budget, any sequestering of its funds or budget reductions would practically paralyze it. We fear that these are impediments to the U.S.I.P.'s ability to master new opportunities.

One of the crucial tasks of an organization is to establish itself as an ongoing institution that can make long range plans and commitments.

Presently, the U.S.I.P. is like an orphan that must rely on Congress to keep it alive every three years. APA recommends a permanent authorization for the U.S.I.P. to give it the stability and continuity required to produce the results Congress intended.

It is also important for an organization such as the U.S.I.P. to develop beneficial relationships with relevant publics. Psychologists and other social scientists conduct much of the research on negotiation tactics, conflict prevention, conflict processes and conflict resolution. Information provided by the U.S.I.P. Grants Administrator revealed that only six (6) out of over 300 grant applications were from psychologists. APA does not fault the Institute for the poor participation of psychologists. APA believes that we have not done enough to make psychologists aware of the mission of the U.S.I.P. APA will work, therefore, to increase the contribution of psychologists to the work and mission of the Institute.

APA's sincere hope is that Congress will provide the support necessary for the Institute to implement those parts of its mandate that it has, to date, been unable to do. We also hope that Congress encourages the appointment to the Board of scholars and experts who are ethnic minorities, women and social scientists. We believe the Board and the Institute would be greatly enriched by their knowledge and experience.

Testimony Of

Kerry Kenn Allen

President Of

VOLUNTEER - The National Center

To The

Senate Labor and Human Relations Committee
and
Senate Foreign Affairs Committee
in
Oversight Hearing on U.S. Institute of Peace

November 10, 1987

My name is Kenn Allen. I am president of VOLUNTEER - The National Center, the national voluntary organization that exists solely for the purpose of promoting and supporting more effective volunteering as one of the most important ways that Americans address our human, social and environmental problems. Our major constituents include the nation's 300 local Volunteer Centers, hundreds of corporations that sponsor employee volunteer programs and thousands of leaders and managers of local volunteer efforts nationwide.

The Institute of Peace has made very real progress in both organization and program decisions in the first two years of its operation. Thus, we are pleased to join in recommending that its authorization be continued and that its appropriation be authorized in the amount of $10 million, the amount previously authorized for the second year of operations in the two-year appropriation authorization. An amount in that order of magnitude is necessary if the Institute is to accomplish the mission set forth for it by the Congress.

While knowledge and use of conflict resolution, the Institute's primary emphasis to now, is essential, we believe that the ultimate basis for peace is internationally shared values that make real an understanding of and respect for each other. As Sigmund Freud wrote almost 50 years ago, "Anything that creates emotional ties between human beings must inevitably counteract war...Everything that leads to important shared action creates such common feelings. On them, the structure of human society in good measure rests."

For millions of people throughout the world, those values are represented by their voluntary efforts to help themselves and one another, to address their common problems and to build effective communities that can provide for all their members. Such volunteer activities can be found wherever there are caring people who are willing to give their time, talent and energy in voluntary acts of helping. It has been my very great privilege over the past ten years to visit with and observe volunteering in countries as diverse as the People's Republic of China, Israel, England, Colombia and India.

As the national resource organization for volunteering, we maintain communications linkages with similar organizations in some 20 countries. Under contract with the U.S. Information Agency, we have hosted visits of volunteer leaders from some 35 countries over the past three years. Next year, we will serve as host for the 10th biennial conference of the International Association for Volunteer Effort and anticipate participation of up to 300 volunteer leaders from as many as 40 countries from every continent.

From this work, we have grown to respect the diverse ways in which private citizens and the organizations they have created are sharing the responsibility for responding to our global problems with innovative volunteer efforts. This new "volunteer community" is bound together by common values and beli[illegible] the ability of individuals to make a very real difference.

It is becoming increasingly clear that a world society is likely to emerge. it will be based on a worldwide technological culture; it will be expressed functionally in worldwide industry, marketing, finance and law. With it will come continued dramatic change in the role of women in society, the continuing growth of religious ecumenism and the expanded development of international relationships as expressed through international travel, education and helping activities.

The Institute has begun to recognize the emergence of this world society through such efforts as its essay contest for high school students in which young people were asked to address the fundamental issues raised by the relationship between human rights and international peace.

We believe that their efforts will be appropriately enhanced by an expanded recognition on their part of the growing role being played by volunteers and voluntary organizations throughout the world and by greater attention to the shared values that such work represents. It is not enough to study peace in the context of conflict. One must also recognize and seek to understand the ways in which people in their daily lives are making peace a reality by addressing the fundamental human, social and economic problems which too often lead to conflict and war. We look forward to the opportunity to work more closely with the Institute in this effort and to make available to it the knowledge and international networks we have developed.

Thus while we are pleased to strongly support the Institute's request for continued authorization and increased appropriation, it is our hope that they will give greater attention to peacemaking as represented by the voluntary helping activities of caring people throughout the world.

We very much appreciate this opportunity to present our perspective on this issue and to express our willingness, as appropriate, to supplement this testimony.

STATEMENT FOR OVERSIGHT HEARING

ON THE

UNITED STATES INSTITUTE OF PEACE

BEFORE

THE SENATE COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS

AND

THE SENATE COMMITTEE ON LABOR AND HUMAN RESOURCES

NOVEMBER 10, 1987

ON BEHALF OF THE

UNITARIAN UNIVERSALIST ASSOCIATION

OF

CHURCHES IN NORTH AMERICA

BY

ROBERT Z. ALPERN, DIRECTOR
(WASHINGTON OFFICE)

UNITARIAN UNIVERSALIST ASSOCIATION

On behalf of the Unitarian Universalist Association of Churches in North America (UUA) I wish to express our appreciation to the Chairmen and members of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations and Senate Committee on Labor and Human Resources for the opportunity to provide this statement to be included in the oversight hearing record on the U.S. Institute of Peace. Although this statement represents the views of the Association and of many Unitarian Universalists, it does not speak for all members of our denomination.

My Name is Robert Z. Alpern and I am Director of the Unitarian Universalist Association's Washington Office.

The scheduling of this oversight hearing on the status of the United States Institute of Peace is necessary for evaluating the United States Institute of Peace during its first 21 months of operation. We want to commend both committees for eliciting testimony from different sectors regarding their perceptions of the Institutes performance.

The UUA has long supported the establishment of a non-partisan, independent and well funded national institution dedicated to peace through the study, teaching, exploration and enhancement of constructive alternatives to war and the use of force. We maintain that the resolution of conflicts among nations by the diligent use of negotiation, mediation, conciliation and arbitration processes must replace the resort to armed force. In addition we believe that the judicial process provided by the International Court of

Justice (ICJ) is an important alternative for settling disputes among nations.

Following Senate passage of S. 564, in June, 1984, by voice vote and subsequent action by the House and Senate, all with little debate, the UUA supported the creation of the United States Institute of Peace. We did so with serious reservations about Institute's reduced institutional status, diluted operational mandate and a its small budget. We thought then, and continue to think, that only a well-funded entity would have a chance to provide challenging alternatives to conventional warfare and nuclear deterrence which now dominate U.S. foreign and military policy.

We find the funding authorized and appropriated for the study of peace alternatives to war minuscule when contrasted to the several hundred billions annually expended on developing our war-making capacities. Today we are spending at least one half of our research and development budgete on military sector research and development. Such priorities do not, in our view bode well for our country's future search for peace.

We, along with many other religious bodies and organizations interested in seeing the Institute become operative, were deeply dismayed by the Administration's procrastination in naming USIP's Board of Directors. The fourteen months that elapsed between signing the public law and the first Board meeting reflected an unconscionable disregard for the will of Congress and a large segment of the citizenry. Only recently the eleventh public sector member and the first woman was named to complete the all male, all

white Board. At present, in addition to the lack of women members the Board fails to include persons of color or different ethnic background. There is no youth representative, nor person(s) trained or experienced in the non-violent methods of conflict resolution earlier enumerated. While we are aware that Congress has at present no control over nomination to the Board it does have responsibility for the confirmation of those named by the President. As presently constituted, the Board lacks the kind of breadth and diversity appropriate to the diverse demographic mix in our society and we urge that such diversity be a criteria in considering future nominations. We would also strongly recommend changes in the Charter that would give both the president and the Congress authority to make a specific number of nominations. In this way the present homogeneity of the Board could be avoided.

The present public sector Board members are academics with two clergymen. Most of these individuals are well known for their staunchly anti-communist writings and public expressions that have dominated U.S. foreign and military policy since the end of World War II. We are today dealing with the consequences of the limited perspective which many of them advocate. In seeking fresh approaches to peacemaking, a broad mixture of persons from diverse backgrounds, with a variety of perspectives is needed.

We want to identify two priority areas which the committee should scrutinize with great care.

1) <u>GRANT REVIEW PROCESS</u>

In 1986 and 1987 USIP's Board of Directors conducted the screening of all grant applications. Under the Charter, and as is common in other grants-making organizations, the Board is instructed to authorize the President, any other officials or employees to "make grants". The role and functions of the Board which are not delineated in section 1706 (a) through (j) need to be reviewed and revised with greater specificity. One suggestion that would help reduce the inappropriate and time consuming Board review practices would involve the naming of a special grants review panel by the president of USIP to screen all grants and cull-out those proposals meriting awards under criteria established by the Board.

2) PUBLIC PARTICIPATION

Since the Board's first meeting, in February, 1986, only a small number of persons from the public sector have attended its meetings as observers. The provision that notice of Board meetings be published in the Federal Register is a critical factor in the lack of public attendance at such meetings. Very few citizens have easy access to the Federal Register and therefore are not able to obtain information on the date, time and place of the meetings. Public notice requires the use of a variety of media outlets which are more accessible to broad publics. We recommend that Sec. 1706 (h) 3 be revised to expand reasonable public notice beyond publication in the Federal Register.

In addition, one of the Institute's stated functions is to "conduct

training, symposia, and continuing education programs for... citizens and non-citizens, directed to developing their skills in international peace and conflict resolution". Since its inception, the Institute has conducted few programs for "citizens and non-citizens". In the few programs to date little or no notification was given to citizens and non-governmental organizations. There is a clear need not only to conduct such "training, symposia and continuing education programs", in many parts of the country, but to make sure that the public is invited to these events. We believe that the Institute is specifically mandated to be a provider of such programs and should make them a high priority in its planning.

PUBLIC OUTREACH

One of the Institutes activities is as stated, the continuing education of the people of the U.S. concerning peace. Material produced by USIP is hard to find. As of November, 1987, after more than 20 months of operation USIP has not produced a newsletter containing up-to-date information concerning its activities, programs, meeting schedules and resources.

When doing field work across the country people frequently ask for an up-date on what is happening at the Institute. The most frequent response is to encourage them to write or call for information. Outside of Washington little is known about USIP's past and current activities - grants awards, Jenning's Randolph Program, etc. We believe this void could remedied by an active outreach effort using a periodic newsletter.

On the back cover of the 1987 Biennial Report, Thomas Jefferson, who is near to the hearts of many Unitarian Universalists, is quoted as saying "peace is our passion". We concur and urge the Institute to help generate such a passion for peace across the length and breadth of this great country of ours.

Senator MATSUNAGA. Thank you very much, Mr. Eberly and Mr. Geiger. I just got a call saying I am wanted on the Floor immediately, so thank you for keeping within the time.

And thank you all for your presence here today.

Mr. EBERLY. Thank you very much.

Senator MATSUNAGA. The hearing stands in recess.

[Whereupon, at 4:00 p.m., the Joint Committee adjourned subject to the call of the Chair.]